

TINA LENDARI is Assistant Professor in Medieval Vernacular and Early Modern Greek Language and Literature at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. She studied at the Universities of Crete and Cambridge and has taught at the Universities of Crete, Patras, Ioannina, Thessaloniki and Cambridge. From 2004 to 2007 she was a Research Associate on the 'Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek' Project. She has published many articles on textual criticism, linguistic analysis and literary theory as applied to medieval and early modern Greek literature and produced the *editio princeps* of the romance *Livistros and Rodamne*, version V. Her current project is a new edition of the romance *Velthandros and Chrysantza*.

IO MANOLESSOU studied Greek literature and linguistics at the Universities of Athens and Cambridge. She has worked as a Research Associate at the University of Cambridge and as a Lecturer in Historical Linguistics at the University of Patras. She now holds the post of Senior Researcher at the Academy of Athens, working on the compilation of the *Historical Dictionary of Modern Greek*. She has participated in a number of international research projects on Greek dialectology and linguistics, and has published more than fifty papers on various topics focusing on Greek language history, dialectology and lexicography.

NOTIS TOUFEXIS is a Digital Humanities specialist with a background in Classics and a PhD on Early Modern Greek from the University of Hamburg. He was a Research Associate on the 'Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek' Project from 2004 to 2009 and has published a number of articles arising from it.

The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek

DAVID HOLTON

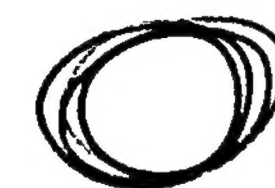
GEOFFREY HORROCKS

MARJOLIJNE JANSSEN

TINA LENDARI

IO MANOLESSOU

NOTIS TOUFEXIS



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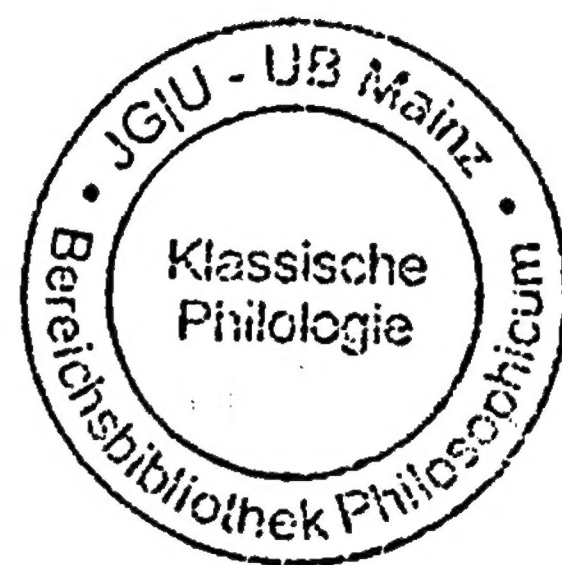
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The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek

Volume 4 Syntax

18/497

Contents

Volume 1

<i>General Introduction</i>	xv
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xxxv
<i>Bibliography</i>	xxxvii
<i>Correspondence Table of Graphemes and Phonemes</i>	clxvii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	clxix
Part I: Phonology	1
1 Introduction	3
2 Vowels	6
3 Consonants	112
4 Stress	222

Volume 2

<i>Correspondence Table of Graphemes and Phonemes</i>	xix
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xxi
Part II: Nominal Morphology	239
1 Introduction	241
2 Nouns	253
3 Adjectives	688
4 Adverbs	830
5 Articles, Pronouns and Determiners	845
6 Numerals	1231

Volume 3

<i>Correspondence Table of Graphemes and Phonemes</i>	xviii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xx
Part III: Verb Morphology	1265
1 Introduction	1267
2 Stem Formation	1273
3 Augment	1394
4 Conjugation	1434
5 Morphosyntax	1767

Volume 4

*Correspondence Table of Graphemes and Phonemes**List of Abbreviations***Part IV: Syntax**

Introduction

1 Main Clauses

2 Complement Clauses

3 Adverbial Clauses

4 Verbs and Verb Phrases

5 Nouns and Noun Phrases

6 Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases

7 Coordination and Apposition

8 Constituent Order

Indexes

xii

xiv

1859

1861

1863

1884

1896

1927

1944

1993

2008

2022

2041

Contents (Volume 4)

*Correspondence Table of Graphemes and Phonemes**List of Abbreviations*

page xii

xiv

Part IV: Syntax

1859

Introduction

1861

1 Main Clauses

1863

1.1 Subject and Predicate

1863

1.1.1 Subjects

1863

1.1.2 Nominal and Adjectival Predicative Complements

1864

1.2 Statements

1865

1.2.1 Statements about the Present and the Past

1865

1.2.2 Statements about the Future: Possible and Hypothetical Events

1866

1.2.2.1 Verb Forms Denoting Future/Possible Events

1866

1.2.2.2 Verb Forms Denoting Hypothetical/Conditional Events

1871

1.3 Commands and Prohibitions

1875

1.4 Questions and Exclamations

1879

1.4.1 Questions

1879

1.4.2 Exclamations

1881

1.5 Wishes

1881

2 Complement Clauses

1884

2.1 Verbs of "Reporting" and "Declaring"

1884

2.2 Control Predicates

1887

2.3 Verbs of "Fearing" and "Precaution"

1893

2.4 Verbs Taking Indirect Questions

1894

3 Adverbial Clauses

1896

3.1 Final (Purpose) Clauses

1896

3.2 Consecutive (Result) Clauses

1899

3.3 Conditional Clauses

1901

3.3.1 Future/Generic Time Reference

1901

3.3.1.1 Subjunctive in Protasis

1902

3.3.1.2 Past Indicative/Conditional in Protasis

1902

3.3.2 Present Time Reference

1903

3.3.2.1 Present Indicative in Protasis

1903

3.3.2.2 Imperfect/Conditional in Protasis

1903

3.3.3	Past Time Reference	1904
3.3.3.1	Past Indicative in Protasis	1904
3.3.3.2	Conditional in Protasis	1905
3.4	Temporal Clauses	1906
3.4.1	Past-time Temporal Clauses Denoting Preceding/Overlapping Events	1907
3.4.1.1	Preceding the Event Described in the Main Clause	1907
3.4.1.2	Overlapping with the Event Described in the Main Clause	1909
3.4.2	Non-past Temporal Clauses Denoting Preceding/Overlapping Events	1909
3.4.2.1	Preceding the Event Described in the Main Clause	1909
3.4.2.2	Overlapping with the Event Described in the Main Clause	1910
3.4.3	Past/Non-past Temporal Clauses Denoting Following Events	1911
3.4.3.1	Containing Subjunctives	1911
3.4.3.2	Containing Past Indicatives (in Past Time Only)	1913
3.4.4	Other Types of Temporal Clause	1913
3.4.4.1	Nominalized Verb Forms	1913
3.4.4.2	Gerunds	1914
3.5	Causal Clauses	1917
3.6	Concessive Clauses	1920
3.7	Comparative Clauses	1922
3.8	Other Adverbial Clauses	1925
4	Verbs and Verb Phrases	1927
4.1	Person and Number	1928
4.2	Voice	1929
4.3	Mood	1930
4.4	Time Reference and Aspect	1931
4.4.1	Present Indicative (Present Imperfective Indicative)	1932
4.4.2	Imperfect Indicative (Past Imperfective Indicative)	1934
4.4.3	Aorist Indicative (Past Perfective Indicative)	1935
4.4.4	Perfect, Pluperfect and Future Perfect Indicatives	1937
4.4.5	Future/Conditionals, Subjunctives and Imperatives	1939
4.4.6	Gerunds and Participles	1940
4.4.7	Infinitives	1942
5	Nouns and Noun Phrases	1944
5.1	Uses of the Cases	1945
5.1.1	Nominative	1945
5.1.2	Vocative	1947
5.1.3	Accusative	1947
5.1.3.1	Complements of Verbs	1947
5.1.3.2	Accusative Adjuncts	1953

5.1.4	Genitive	1957
5.1.4.1	Complements of Verbs	1957
5.1.4.2	Genitive Adjuncts	1959
5.1.5	Dative	1961
5.2	Complements of Nouns	1963
5.2.1	Subjective and Objective Genitives	1963
5.2.2	Partitive Genitives	1964
5.2.3	Clausal Complements	1965
5.3	Adjuncts of Nouns	1969
5.3.1	Genitive Adjuncts	1969
5.3.2	Articles and Other Determiners	1969
5.3.2.1	Definite NPs and the Definite Article	1969
5.3.2.2	Indefinite NPs and Indefinite Determiners	1974
5.3.2.3	Demonstratives	1980
5.3.3	Relative Clauses	1983
6	Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases	1993
6.1	Simple Prepositional Phrases	1993
6.1.1	Frequently Occurring Prepositions + Accusative	1993
6.1.2	Prepositions of More Limited Frequency	1996
6.2	Phrases with a Governing Adverb	2003
6.2.1	Adverb Governing a PP (Headed by ἀπό/ἐκ, εἰς/ἐπὶ, μέ)	2003
6.2.2	Adverb + Genitive NP	2006
7	Coordination and Apposition	2008
7.1	Coordination	2008
7.1.1	Sentences and Clauses	2008
7.1.2	Contrastive and Disjunctive Clausal Coordination	2012
7.1.3	Other Constituents	2014
7.2	Apposition	2017
7.2.1	Appositive Clauses	2017
7.2.2	Appositive NPs	2018
8	Constituent Order	2022
8.1	General Principles	2022
8.1.1	Topicalization	2023
8.1.2	Focalization	2025
8.2	Clitic Pronouns and the Verbal Complex	2026
8.2.1	V Initial in VC	2030
8.2.2	V Non-Initial in VC: cl+V	2036
8.3	Clitic Pronouns and Periphrastic Verb Forms	2038

Indexes

<i>Index of Linguistic Terms and Concepts</i>	2041
<i>Index of Greek Words and Phrases</i>	2059
<i>Index of Innovative Greek Endings and Suffixes</i>	2085

Correspondence Table of Graphemes and Phonemes

For the general orientation of the non-specialist user of this Grammar, this correspondence table indicates the relationship between the letters of the Greek alphabet and the phonemes they represent in Medieval and Early Modern Greek. It does not include graphematic particularities such as ligatures, abbreviations, special symbols or scribal idiosyncrasies which may be encountered in manuscript, epigraphic and printed sources, for which see the specific bibliography given in section 4 of the General Introduction (Volume 1). Further details concerning allophonic, regional or other particular realizations are provided, when necessary, in the relevant phoneme sections in Phonology.

Grapheme	Phoneme	Allophone
A α	/a/	
B β	/v/	
Γ γ	/ɣ/	[j]
Δ δ	/ð/	
E ε	/e/	
Z ζ	/z/	
H η	/i/	
Θ θ	/θ/	
I ι	/i/	
K κ	/k/	[c]
Λ λ	/l/	[Λ]
M μ	/m/	
N ν	/n/	[ɲ]
Ξ ξ	/ks/	
O ο	/o/	
Π π	/p/	
P ρ	/r/	
Σ σ ς	/s/	
T τ	/t/	
Υ υ	/y/ > /i/	
Φ φ	/f/	
Χ χ	/x/	[ç]
Ψ ψ	/ps/	
Ω ω	/o/	

Digraph	Phoneme	Allophone
αι	/e/	
αυ	/af/ - /av/	
γγ	/ng/	[ŋg] - [g]
γκ	/ng/	[ŋg] - [g]
ει	/i/	
ευ	/ef/ - /ev/	
μπ	/mb/	[b]
ντ	/nd/	[d]
οι	/y/ > /i/	
ου	/u/	
τζ	/ts/ - /dz/	
υι	/y/ > /i/	

Abbreviations

Cross-references within the Grammar are given by Chapter and Section, e.g. 2.6.3, if they refer to the same Part, but if to a different Part they begin with the relevant Part number, e.g. II, 3.1.

Periods and Dates

AG	Ancient Greek
EMedG	Early Medieval Greek
LMedG	Late Medieval Greek
EMG	Early Modern Greek
SMG	Standard Modern Greek
ca.	circa
c.	century

General

app. crit.	apparatus criticus
f., ff.	folio(s)
ibid.	in the same text, i.e. the one cited immediately before
id./idem/eadem	by the same author
ms(s)	manuscript(s)
vs.	versus

Grammatical Terms

acc.	accusative
act.	active
adv.	adverb
aor.	aorist
F/fem.	feminine
fut.	future
gen.	genitive
imp.	imperative
imperf.	imperfect
ind.	indicative
inf.	infinitive
M/masc.	masculine
N/neut.	neuter
NP	noun phrase

List of Abbreviations

xv

nom.	nominative
pass.	passive
perf.	perfect
pl.	plural (e.g. 3 pl. = 3rd person plural)
pluperf.	pluperfect
PP	prepositional phrase
prep.	preposition
pres.	present
pron.	pronoun
sg.	singular (e.g. 1 sg. = 1st person singular)
subj.	subjunctive
voc.	vocative
VP	verb phrase

Languages

Alb.	Albanian
Fr.	French
IE	Indo-European
Ital.	Italian
MedLat.	Medieval Latin
Lat.	Latin
Occit.	Occitan
OFr.	Old French
Port.	Portuguese
Rom.	Romanian
Slav.	Slavonic
Turk.	Turkish
Ven.	Venetian

Part IV

Syntax

Introduction

The eight syntax chapters were written on the basis of material taken from the grammar database set up by Notis Toufexis. The arduous work of selecting and compiling the examples was done chiefly by Marjolijne Janssen, with the assistance of Tina Lendari, Io Manolessou and Notis Toufexis. Further data were added when necessary for the sake of completeness.

The purpose of these chapters is to characterize the syntax of Medieval and Early Modern Greek by means of the rules that define its various constructions; no systematic effort has therefore been made to compare Medieval Greek with its ancient predecessor or its modern successor, though diachronic observations are sometimes offered where these seemed helpful. The rules in each chapter are numbered sequentially for ease of reference and presented in bold. Where necessary, further detail is supplied immediately below a rule, followed by a set of illustrative instantiations, stripped of irrelevant and superfluous detail. For example, since verse, syntactically speaking, differs from prose primarily in having a higher proportion of "marked" constituent orders, I have cited verse in a continuous format, without marking line-ends. I have also omitted any parts of examples, whether in verse or prose, that are not germane to the point under discussion (the deletions are indicated ...). In each set of examples, the material is organized chronologically, with the earliest material coming first. In the case of documentary texts, their place of origin is specified if known, together with their date. Literary texts, by contrast, are assigned to a century (sometimes tentatively), and where two different centuries are given, the first is that of the manuscript(s), the second that of composition. As far as possible, examples were chosen to illustrate not only the operation of rules but also the geographical spread and chronological range of the relevant structures. In some cases there are additional Notes below the citations, dealing, for example, with difficult, unusual, irregular or distributionally restricted phenomena.

I should add here that the spellings in the examples cited are those of the original editions, except that traditional subjunctive endings have been standardized by the addition of iota subscript in the relevant forms if this was omitted. But having blocks of examples exhibiting several different systems of accentuation simultaneously seemed not only an unnecessary distraction from syntactic matters but also aesthetically unattractive. A regularized polytonic form of accentuation has therefore been employed throughout, regardless of the preferred practice of individual editors. I offer no apologies.

Particular thanks are due to Marjolijne Janssen, who read through the complete text, updated several references in the light of recent publications, checked and normalised the orthography, and most importantly, corrected a number of errors of interpretation. I am very grateful for her contribution. I should also like to record here my gratitude to Peter

Mackridge, who, with characteristic generosity, offered to comment in detail on an earlier draft of these chapters. His careful reading of a complex text saved me from more than a few errors of form and interpretation, and raised a number of important issues that had simply passed me by. The final version has been greatly improved by the incorporation of his corrections and observations, and by the rewriting of several parts of the text in the light of his expert advice.

GCH

1 Main Clauses

1.1 Subject and Predicate

Complete sentences consist of at least one main clause and may contain any number of subordinate clauses (see Chapters 2–3 and 5.3.3). Two or more clauses may be conjoined or stand in apposition (see Chapter 7).

All clauses combine the meaning of a subject with that of a predicate, even when there is no “overt” subject present and its “content” has to be supplied indirectly, e.g. by reference to the verbal morphology (in finite clauses, see Rule (1) NOTE (i) immediately below), or through rules of control (in some non-finite clauses, see 3.4, Rules (36) and (37), and 3.8). This chapter deals with main clauses.

1.1.1 Subjects

- (1) **The subject of a finite verb is in the nominative case; the verb agrees with its subject in person and number.**

1 sg.	ἐγὼ τὸ θέλω κι ἀγαπῶ	14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H 578
2 sg.	ἐσὺ κλωσσᾷς τὰ χηνόπουλα	17th c., <i>Bertoldin.</i> 128.14
3 sg.	καὶ ὁ φθόνος ἐτυφλώσεν	15th c./14th c., <i>Velis.</i> χ 536
1 pl.	ἡμεῖς μὲν ζῶμεν	1256, Palatia (Miletos), <i>NYSTAZOPOULOU</i> 1966: 1, 288.1
2 pl.	ἐχάλασθήκετε ἐσεῖς κακῶς	16th c./12th c., <i>Dig.</i> A 3219
3 pl.	ὡς καὶ μαρτύρουν αὐτὰ οἱ καλοὶ ἄνθρωποι	?1125, Sicily, <i>CUSA</i> 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 417.7

NOTES

- (i) Subjects are routinely omitted when their “content” is pronominal (i.e. = “I”, “you”, “he/she/it”, etc.) and non-emphatic/non-contrastive, since the relevant person/number information is directly inferable from the agreement morphology on the verb (though additional contextual information may be required to identify the referent):

1 sg.	λέγω σε τὴν αἰτίαν μου	12th c./11th c., <i>NIKON, Logos</i> 9 312.10
3 sg.	παρεκάθισε τὴν πόλιν	15th–16th c., ?Peloponnese, <i>SCHREINER</i> 1975/79: 33.III, 252.53.2

(ii) Conjoined subjects of different persons trigger agreement as follows:

- 1 sg./pl. + 2 sg./pl. > 1 pl.
- 1 sg./pl. + 3 sg./pl. > 1 pl.
- 2 sg./pl. + 3 sg./pl. > 2 pl.
- 3 sg./pl. + 3 sg./pl. > 3 pl.

(iii) Exceptions to the regular agreement rules include:

Agreement "by sense", e.g. where a formally singular subject denoting a collective entity takes a plural verb:

καὶ τόσον πολὺν ἀρίφνητον ἔφθασαν εἰς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸ φουσάτον
16th c., *Düg. Alex.* F 20.12–13 (Konstantinopulos)

Agreement with only the closest of a set of subjects:

καὶ ποσῶς οὐκ ὠφελήσῃ καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον καὶ τὸ στέμμα τοῦ θεοῦ σου
14th c./15th c., *ERMON.*, *Ilias* 7.112–14

Archaizing "Attic syntax", i.e. singular verb with neuter plural subject (mainly in earlier poetry with other learned elements):

ὥς γὰρ τὰ ξύλα τοῦ πυρὸς τὴν φλόγαν ἐπαυξάνει ?12th–13th c., *Spaneas* P 131

(iv) For the agreement of nominal and adjectival predicative complements, see immediately below.

1.1.2 Nominal and Adjectival Predicative Complements

(2) In clauses containing a copular verb ("be", "become", "remain", "be made/called/appointed" etc.), a nominal/adjectival complement attributing a property to the subject agrees with the subject in case; complement nouns (with inherent gender) also agree in number, while complement adjectives agree in both gender and number; predicate nouns normally lack an article (see 5.3.2, Rule (76) NOTE (i)).

Nom. Masc. Sg. Subject + Nom. Masc. Sg. Adjectival Complement

ὁ γέρων νέος οὐ γίνεται 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS*, *Stichoi* 222

Nom. Fem. Sg. Subject + Nom. Fem. Sg. Adjectival Complement

σαράντα ἡμέρες λείπεται ἄψαλτη ἡ ἐκκλησιά τους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 768

Nom. Fem. Sg. Subject + Nom. Sg. Nominal Complement (Inherently Feminine)

ἔμεινεν χήρα ἡ κυρά ἡ Τσαρλόττα 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* B 32.18

Nom. Masc. Sg. Subject (omitted) + Nom. Sg. Nominal Complements (Inherently Neuter)

καὶ βασιλέως παιδὶν ἡμουν, μεγάλου ἀνθρώπου ἐκγόνι
16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 51

(3) If a transitive verb takes a nominal/adjectival complement attributing a property to its object (normally without the mediation of a copula), the predicate noun or adjective agrees with the object in case, and in number and gender as in Rule (1).

Acc. Masc. Sg. Object + Acc. Sg. Nominal Complement (inherently masculine)

πολλὰ τὸν ἔχω εὐκαιρητὴν ἐκείνον τὸν γονέα 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS*, *Stichoi* 208

Acc. Neut. Sg. Object + Acc. Neut. Sg. Adjectival Complement

δεῖξον λοξὸν τὸ βλέμμα 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 170

1.2 Statements

1.2.1 Statements about the Present and the Past

(4) The indicative mood is used to make a factual statement about the present or the past (for the uses of the different tenses of the indicative, see 4.4); a factual statement is negated with οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν.

Present

λέγω σε τὴν αἰτίαν μου 12th c./11th c., *NIKON*, *Logos* 9 312.10

συναπαντάει μου ὁ Πόθος 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 296

Imperfect

ὥς καὶ μαρτύρουν αὐτὰ οἱ καλοὶ ἄνθρωποι
?1125, Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 417.7

καὶ δίδαμεν του γέννημαν 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 10

Aorist

οὐδὲν ἐπέρασεν ποσῶς καιρὸς μικρὸς κι ὀλίγος 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7944

παρεκάθισε τὴν πόλιν 15th–16th c., ?Peloponnese, *SCHREINER* 1975/79: 33.III, 252.53.2

NOTE

(i) The present indicative may be prefixed with νά in vivid narrative. The earliest example in the database is from ca. 13th/14th c. In origin this construction is perhaps a combination of the "historic" present (4.4, Rule 46 and NOTES), employed to bring a story to life "before the reader's eyes", with the deictic/presentative particle νά (cf. French *voici/voilà*), though homophony with the mood marker νά (see 4.3) soon led to "subjunctive" spellings of the verb endings and presumably the conviction that the forms involved were indeed subjunctive:

καὶ τὸ ραβδὶν ἐπαίξαμεν καὶ κονταροκτυπούμεν καὶ τὰ φαρία νά πηδοῦν, νά παίζουν τὸ κοντάριν, νά μοιάζῃ πόλεμος σωστός καὶ φόνος πρὸς ἀλλήλων
15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* V 676–8

1.2.2 Statements about the Future: Possible and Hypothetical Events

Though speakers may be confident about the future occurrence of particular events, the future objectively is an unknown domain and statements about it cannot be strictly factual. "Future events", i.e. those whose occurrence speakers feel able to predict with confidence, therefore form a continuum with modally qualified "possible events", i.e. those whose actual or eventual occurrence speakers are in varying degrees unsure about. Forms denoting futurity and different types of modality (epistemic, deontic, etc.) may have a general/atemporal reading alongside the future one: compare, for example, *will* and *may* in *X will/may happen (tomorrow/in general)*. In present and past time future and modal forms can both be used to speculate about situations whose factual status the speaker is ignorant of, cf. *X may/will be happening (now)*; *X may/will have happened (yesterday)*. In all cases, "future" *will* carries greater conviction than modals such as *may*.

Though any main clause may be tied to a condition, some modal forms effectively presuppose one, whether explicitly stated or contextually implied, e.g. *would* in [*if X happened*] *Y would happen*; [*if X were happening*] *Y would happen/be happening*; [*if X had happened*] *Y would have happened*. Such "remote" conditions (protases) set up situations for abstract/theoretical consideration, i.e. they are, strictly speaking, atemporal, with no commitment to their occurrence in the past, present or future. But they are often used to speculate about the past, present or future when knowledge is lacking or, in past and present time, to consider counterfactual scenarios when the truth is known. The main clause (apodosis) with its "conditional" verb form denotes the "hypothetical" consequence of the potential or impossible fulfilment of the remote condition. In the absence of an inherent temporal reference point, the event of the main clause is typically taken to be "in the future" relative to that of the condition, which is in turn taken to be "in the past" relative to its consequence. "Past-tense" verb forms are therefore typically used in protases and "future-in-the-past" forms in apodoses. Futures/modals marked as "past", like *would* and *might*, distinguish different degrees of conviction about the likelihood of the consequence, given the prior fulfilment of the remote condition, cf. [*if X happened*] *Y would/might happen*.

LMedG/EMG does not distinguish systematically between what "will occur" and what "may/can/shall occur" or between what "would occur" and what "might/could/should occur". Nor does it systematically distinguish what "would etc. occur" (now/in future) from "what would etc. have occurred" (in the past). It does, however, distinguish the language user's subjective view of actions as "bounded" (perfective) or "unbounded" (imperfective), and this aspectual distinction partly characterizes the forms used to refer to future and possible/hypothetical events (for verbal aspect, see 4.4). The details of usage are discussed and exemplified below.

1.2.2.1 Verb Forms Denoting Future/Possible Events

- (5) Reference to future/possible events can be made with periphrases consisting of the present tense of the future/modal auxiliaries μέλλω/ἔχω/(ἐ)θέλω + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) infinitive; the negative is οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν, placed before the auxiliary.

Since each auxiliary has its own preferences and restrictions, the three options will be presented separately.

Μέλλω + Infinitive

All examples in the database refer to the future, broadly continuing the ancient use "be going to":

Present Infinitive

μέλλουσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ διώκοντες φθάνειν 13th-14th c./12th c., Dig. G IV.628

μέλλομεν ἔχειν τὸ ἥμισυ 1232, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 286, 396.6

Aorist Infinitive

πάντες μέλλομεν σταθῆν τὴν φοβερὰν ἡμέραν 15th c./12th c., Dig. E 1755

μέλλομεν εἰσελθεῖν 1232, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 176, 231.30-1

NOTES

- (i) μέλλω + inf. occurs mainly in non-literary, legal and official texts. The present infinitive is favoured in the earlier medieval period and the aorist infinitive in the later medieval period with a consequential blurring of the perfective/imperfective opposition throughout.
- (ii) μέλλω + inf. typically carries a strong deontic nuance of "what shall (certainly) be/ what has to be".

Ἐχω + Infinitive

The classical meaning is dynamic ("be able"), but the construction also acquired epistemic/potential, deontic and future uses in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

In the later medieval period, as the corresponding "conditional" εἶχα + infinitive takes on the role of a pluperfect (see 3.3, Rule (34); 4.4), ἔχω in future/modal function is sometimes strengthened through the prefixation of the modal marker ἵνα/νά (with negative μή(ν) placed after the particle). This restricted option is characteristic of lower-register texts and represents the renewal of a form that was increasingly felt to be anomalous with the functional shift of εἶχα + infinitive. It proved to be a temporary expedient, however, and the ἔχω-periphrasis henceforth gives ground steadily to the (ἐ)θέλω-periphrasis (see immediately below).

All examples in the database refer to the future and/or have a generic reading:

Present Infinitive

ἄλλος ἔχει εἶναι εἰς τὸ πολάτιον 9th c., Theophanes, Chronogr. 127.13 (ed. De Boor)

ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἑτέροις ἔχομεν ἀκολουθεῖν 10th c., De ceremoniis II 427.13 (ed. Reiske)

Aorist Infinitive

ἔχεις ... εὐρεῖν καὶ νοήσιν πάντα, ὅτι εὐκολον ἔχουν τὸ νόημα 12th c./11th c., NIKON, Logos 9 310.10-11

ἐξαλαφρώσειν ἔχεις τοὺς πόνους 16th c./15th c., LIMEN., Velis. (Λ) 557

νὰ ἔχω + Infinitive

ἐπεὶ ἐνὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ τόπος σου γυμνὸς ἐκ τὰ φουσσᾶτα,
νὰ τὸν ἐπάρουν εὐκολα καὶ νὰ τὸν ἔχῃς χάσει

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4236–7

NOTES

- (i) Use of ἔχω + infinitive as a future had a “low” origin, and though it gained acceptance over time, it is used mainly in literary rather than official texts.
- (ii) Use of ἔχω with both aorist and present infinitives (the latter only rarely) belongs to the early medieval period. Subsequently the aorist infinitive alone is attested, with neutralization of the aspectual contrast.

(Ε)θέλω + Infinitive

The principal ancient meaning was “want” and this option was retained. But future, epistemic/potential and deontic uses are all well established by the later medieval period, when the (ε)θέλω-periphrasis begins to take over from ἔχω (see above). With animate subjects it is often difficult or impossible to decide whether the intended force is “want to X” or “will X”.

The majority of examples in the database refer to the future and/or have a generic reading, but a handful of later examples occur with clear reference to the present in inferential/epistemic use:

Future/Generic

Present Infinitive

ἔως τότε γὰρ θέλεις εἶναι εὐγενής

14th c./11th c., Kekaumenos, *Strategikon* V 298 ccxviii (ed. Roueché)

ὅλοι τὸν θέλουσι γελᾶ, μέμφονται καὶ ὀνειδίζει

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8185

Aorist Infinitive

τολμήσειν θέλω

?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.5v.11

θέλει ἰδεῖν ὁ λεγόμενος ἀποκρισιάρης

1498, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.12

Present (Inferential/Epistemic)

Present Infinitive

κοιμᾶσται θέλει ἀληθινά, γὰρ κείνο δὲν προβαίνει

17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz* I.19

NOTES

- (i) The θέλω-periphrasis is the only one with a fully developed aspectual contrast in the infinitive, reflecting its normalization within the verbal paradigm as the dominant future form in LMedG. Its partial grammaticalization is associated with the appearance of shortened forms of the auxiliary (θές, θέ(ν), θέμε(ν), θέτε, θέν(ε)) from around the 15th c.

- (ii) This is the only infinitival periphrasis used to denote speculations/inferences about the present, a further reflection of its development as the “regular” future tense of later MedG and EMG.

- (6) From ca. 12th–13th c. onwards the infinitival complement may be replaced by a periphrasis consisting of the modal marker *ἵνα/νὰ* + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν, placed before the auxiliary.

Future/Generic

Aorist Subjunctive

τὰ ὄρη ... τὰ μέλλεις νὰ περάσῃς

16th c./15th c., DELLAP. *Erot. Apokr.* 3147

θέλει νὰ φανῇ ἡ ἀγάπη του

16th c., *Dig.* P VII.386.24

ἔχει νὰ τοῦ ἔλθῃ αὐτὸς ὁ θάνατος

1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 14, 35.5–6

Present Subjunctive

ἡ γνωριμίδα τοὺς κριτάδες θέλει νὰ ἐνῇ τοιοῦτη

16th c./?13th c., *Assizes A* 52.21

Present (Inferential/Epistemic)

Present Subjunctive

καὶ αὐτὸς κάτι θέλει νὰ ξεύρῃ ποὺ συντυχαίνει ἔτσι

1653–5, Venice, FONKİÇ 2000: 240, f.1v.8–9

ἐγὼ γελιῶμαι ... ἡ αὐτὴ θέλει νὰ εἶναι ἡ μεγαλύτερη τύχη

18th c., *Don Kis.* 49.16–17

τὸ κοτσὶ θέλει νὰ εἶναι κανενοῦ στρατοκόπου

18th c., *Don Kis.* 49.24

NOTES

- (i) This substitution does not affect νὰ ἔχω + (aorist) infinitive.
- (ii) The present subjunctive is very rare with μέλλω νὰ and ἔχω νὰ, as expected on the basis of their infinitival counterparts (cf. above). Both these periphrases often have strong deontic overtones.
- (iii) Impersonal μέλλει νὰ (sometimes μέλλεται νὰ in Crete and Cyprus) and θέλει νὰ are also found from 14th c., in imitation of the impersonal modal verbs πρέπει, ἐνδέχεται, μπορεί (see 4.3). Both these periphrases may again have strong deontic nuances. Impersonal ἔχει νὰ is very rare.
- (iv) Personal θέλω νὰ in the early part of the later medieval period is normally volitive/modal and so partly distinguished from the mainly “future” θέλω + infinitive. But from ca. 14th c. onwards θέλω νὰ is also used as a future, albeit less frequently than its infinitival counterpart. In the very late medieval and early modern periods, this periphrasis also acquires inferential/epistemic use with present time reference.
- (v) From the 14th c. future/modal θέλω may even be complemented by the modally strengthened infinitival periphrasis νὰ ἔχω + (aorist) infinitive:

καὶ θέλω νὰ σᾶς ἔχω εἶπεῖ καὶ νὰ σᾶς ἀφηγήσω

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3140

- (vi) θέλω + “bare” subjunctive appears beside θέλω νά + subjunctive from ca. 14th c., both variants sometimes using the shortened forms of the auxiliary:

θέλου<ν> ἀνακατωθοῦ<ν> οὔλοι οἱ Χριστιανοί 1496, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.7

- (vii) From θές νά, θέ(ν) νά etc. an invariant θέ νά eventually evolved in the 15th and 16th c., apparently first in southern areas. The modern θά, first attested in late-16th-c. Crete, represents a further reduction of θέ νά:

θέ νά + subj: καὶ ὅλα θέ νά πάψου 16th c., Alex. Rim. 385

θά + subj: σήμερο θά σὲ στερευτῶ 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, Panor. I.15

- (7) Reference to future/possible events can also be made with the modal particle ἵνα/νά + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is μή(ν)/μηδέν, placed after ἵνα/νά.

This construction goes back to the Roman imperial period, when it originally had deontic/optative force, but it soon evolved into a general marker of the subjunctive mood with a wide variety of modal functions, including the expression of futurity. It is often difficult to distinguish future use from potential/epistemic (“may/can”) or deontic (“should”) uses.

Present Subjunctive

ἐκεῖ νά σὲ ἀναμένω 13th–14th c./12th c., Dig. G IV.211

κάθα χρόνο ... νά στέλλη ... μ’ χιλιάδες δουκάτα 1483, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.5–6

Aorist Subjunctive

ἐρώτα καὶ νά μάθῃς 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 137

ἄμα τὸ φορέση, εἰς γῆν νά πέσῃ ἐκ τὸ ἄλογον 15th–16th c./13th–14th c., Liv. α 2992–3

ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἔμπροσθεν Φράγκος νά μὴ μᾶς βιάσῃ ν’ ἀλλάξωμεν τὴν πίστιν μας 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 2093–4

NOTES

- (i) Νά (μή(ν)) + subjunctive may also be read as a command or a wish if the context permits (see Rules (13), (14) and (20)).
- (ii) Use of this construction as a future declines during the later medieval period as the θέλω-periphrasis and its later reflexes become more dominant in this function.
- (iii) In strong denials οὐ μή(ν) + subjunctive may be used; νά is normally absent, but if used, follows the negation:

1 sg. ποτέ σας ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ ρόγαν οὐ μὴ σᾶς δώσω 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 5116

2 sg. ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν ψυχίτσα μου δόλον οὐ μὴ νά ἔχῃς 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 4065

3 sg. ἂν δὲ ζητήσῃς ... γυναῖκαν νά μὲ πάρῃς, οὐ μὴ θελήσῃ ὁ πατέρας σου 15th c./14th–15th c., Achil. L 649

- (8) At the very end of the period covered by this Grammar speculative/inferential reference to the past (= “will have done X (I suppose)”) may be made using θέλει, probably impersonally in all cases, + aorist indicative.

πλήν ... εἰς Κορυφούς θέλει ἀλλάχθησαν

1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 304, f.1v.13–14

θέλει ἐμετέβαλεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς γίγαντας εἰς εἶδος ἀνεμομύλων

18th c., Don Kis. 46.15–16

1.2.2.2 Verb Forms Denoting Hypothetical/Conditional Events

As we have seen, hypothetical conditions and their consequences can be used to speculate “theoretically” about the past, present and future, or “counterfactually” about the past and present. Languages differ, however, in the extent to which real-world time reference is marked in the “conditional” verb forms employed. LMedG/EMG makes no clear temporal distinctions in such cases (the “past tense” of the protasis and the “future-in-the-past” of the apodosis being mutually relative tenses, see above), and relies instead on choice of aspect and context.

Verb forms built to the present/imperfective or aorist/perfective stems are used to reflect the speaker’s decision to present an eventuality as unbounded (e.g. continuous/progressive/habitual) or bounded (i.e. a single complete whole). Reference to the present moment, which “progresses” with time, is normally made with an imperfective form on its “progressive” reading, and reference to “general” states of affairs with an imperfective form on its “habitual” reading, cf. *X is happening (now)* with *X happens (usually)*. By contrast, though past and future eventualities may readily be viewed both imperfectively and perfectly, the perfective view is the default case. Thus a LMedG/EMG conditional expression containing an imperfective verb form is typically taken to refer to the present or to a general state of affairs, and one containing a perfective form to the past or the future, with the context discriminating between the two temporal readings. But it is important to remember that this is not necessarily so and that past and future events may also be viewed imperfectively (as continuous/progressive or habitual), just as actions in the present may be viewed perfectly. Equally, some conditional periphrases, like their future counterparts, do not display a full aspectual contrast, and in these cases the reader is required to fall back on context alone.

The following examples of the conditional periphrasis with εἶχα, which is used almost exclusively with aorist/perfective infinitives, should help to clarify. The same construction may be understood in context to refer to the past, present or future:

Past

ἔαν ... οὐδὲν ἦλθεν ..., οὐδὲν εἶχεν ἐξαναστρέψει 16th c./13th c., Assizes A 91.26–7

“if he had not come (then), he would not have returned (later)”

Present

ἂν οὐ σὲ γάπουν τὰ πολλά, τώρα σκοτώσει σέ ’χα 15th–16th c./14th–15th c., Achil. N 1571

"if I didn't love you so much, I would kill you now"

Future

ἂν ἤξερες πῶς ἄφτουσι τὰ φύλλα τῆς καρδιάς μου ... κρίνω πῶς μ' εἶχες κλαίγει ...
CHORTATSI, Katz. I.2-3

"if you were to know..., I think that you would weep for me"

- (9) Reference to hypothetical events can be made with a conditional periphrasis consisting of the imperfect tense of the future/modal auxiliaries *ἔμελλα/εἶχα/ἤθελα* + present (imperfective) infinitive or aorist (perfective) infinitive; the negative is *οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν*, placed before the auxiliary.

Ἐμελλον/ἔμελλα + Infinitive

Present Infinitive

ἐν τῷ ἐσθιεῖν τὴν Ἀγάπην *ἔμελλεν κλαίειν* 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 2 150.9
μέλλει διαδέχεσθαι 1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 210.43

Aorist Infinitive

τούτους *ἔμελλεν γὰρ κτεῖναι* 15th c./14th c., ERMON., *Ilias* 3.171
ἔμελλον προσμεῖναι εἰς τὴν Τραπεζοῦντα 16th c./15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 108.12

NOTES

- (i) This is very much a residual construction in later medieval Greek, used mainly with aorist (perfective) infinitives and typically with a strong deontic nuance ("should/should have").
(ii) From ca. 14th–15th c. the infinitive may be replaced by *νά* + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive, the former largely restricted to inherently stative verbs that lack aorist stems.
(iii) Impersonal *ἔμελλε νά* (*ἔμελλετον νά* in the south-west) is a common option, and is occasionally complemented by a past-tense indicative (imperfect or aorist) in place of a subjunctive.

Εἶχον/εἶχα + Infinitive

Present Infinitive

ἀγωνιᾶν εἶχες καὶ ἀδημονεῖν 14th c./11th c., Kekaumenos, *Strategikon* 296, 13–14 (ed. Litavrin)

παρηγοριά δὲν *εἶχε ὅσται* τούτῃ στὰ βάσανά μου 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.183

Aorist Infinitive

οὐκ ἂν εἰς οἶκον μᾶς ποτε *εἶχετε πορευθῆναι* 13th–14th c./12th c., Dig. G I.275
τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν Ρωμαίων *κληρονομήσειν εἶχεν* 15th c./14th c., Velis. χ 371–2

NOTES

- (i) Present (imperfective) infinitives are increasingly rare with *εἶχον/εἶχα* in the later medieval period, and the verbs attested tend to be inherently stative, i.e. without aorist (perfective) stems.
(ii) The majority of examples of *εἶχον/εἶχα* + inf. in the later medieval period occur in the protases of hypothetical/counterfactual conditional sentences, where the shift to pluperfect use originated (see 3.3 and 4.4), and most of the examples in main clauses follow an overt conditional of this type, i.e. as apodoses.
(iii) *Εἶχον/εἶχα νά* + subjunctive (aorist) is a rare variant, occurring in texts from southern areas.
(iv) *Εἶχον/εἶχα* + "bare" subjunctive (present or aorist) occurs in late medieval/early modern texts from south-western regions; impersonal *εἶχε* is also attested in a handful of early modern texts from this area.
(v) *Εἶχον/εἶχα* + a past-tense indicative (imperfect, more rarely aorist) is also found on occasion.
(vi) *Εἶχον/εἶχα* + infinitive may be strengthened through prefixation of the modality marker *νά* (negative *μή(ν)* after the particle).

Ἦθελον/ἤθελα + Infinitive

Present Infinitive

ἤθελαμεν ἔχει καὶ ὀλιγότερον κόπον εἰς τὰς γραφάς 1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 22.9

ἤθελα βλέπει κείνην 15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* III.75,6 (1529)

Aorist Infinitive

οὐδένα (βιβλίον) *ἤθελεν εὐρεθῆ* ?post 1356, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.18

στραφῆν ἤθελαν ἄπρακτοι 15th c./14th c., Velis. χ 215

NOTES

- (i) The imperfective/perfective aspectual contrast is well established in this periphrasis, with the present (imperfective) infinitive used much more widely than with *μέλλω/ἔχω*, even with non-stative verbs.
(ii) *Ἦθελον/ἤθελα νά* + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive mainly has a volitive meaning, but is sometimes also used as a conditional, particularly in texts after 15th c.
(iii) From ca. 14th c. *ἤθελον/ἤθελα* may be complemented by bare subjunctives, present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective). Impersonal *ἤθελε(ν)* also occurs from 15th c. Occasionally this combination is prefixed with the modality marker *νά*:
καὶ ἃ μοῦ ἤθελε λείπει καὶ τούτῃ, φόρσα νά ἤθελα ντεσπεραριστῶ
1625, Crete (Chandax), MAVROMATIS 1986, 6, 79.14–15

- (iv) The modally strengthened combination νά ἔχω + (aorist) infinitive may also be used to complement ἠθελον/ἠθελαι:

ἠθελαι νά ἔχη ἀποχωρήσει

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 5785

- (v) ἠθελον/ἠθελαι (± νά) may also be complemented by past-tense indicatives (imperfect, less commonly aorist), especially in texts from the Heptanese.

- (vi) A reduced/invariable form ἦθε(ν), usually with a bare subjunctive complement, is attested in mainly later texts from southern areas.

- (10) Reference to hypothetical events can also be made with the modal particle ἵνα/νά + imperfect (past imperfective) indicative or aorist (past perfective) indicative; the negative is μή(ν)/μηδέν placed after the particle.

νά + Imperfect

ἂν ... κ' ἐνίκησέ με εἰς πόλεμον, παρηγορίαν

νά τὸ εἶχα

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5005–7

στήν μέσσην του νά ἔβανες ώραῖον δακτυλιδίτσιν

16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 63

κι ἄς ἦμουν ρογεμένος, νά ἔρωγα καί

νά χόρταινα

17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS*, *Katz.* III.108–9

νά + Aorist

καί ὁ βλέπων νά εἶδεν ἔνωσιν ἀστέρων

δύο μεγάλων

?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.4r.3

ἂν ... ὁ πρίγκιπας ... νά εἶχε ... κουρσέψει ..., ὁ

Μέγας ὁ Δεμέστικος ἀργά νά ἐφουσσατέψεν

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4876–80

ἔαν εἶχαμεν τὴν δύναμιν, νά ἐποιήσαμεν τὸ ὁμάτζιον

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7910

νά ἔπες οὐκ ἐφάνησαν ποτέ στὸν κόσμον

15th c., *Rim. than.* 52 ms

- (11) The bare imperfect indicative is also used as a conditional, usually, though not invariably, when a co-occurring conditional clause indicates the required (hypothetical) reading; the negative is οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν.

ἔαν μᾶς παρatreψουν, ἔχάναμεν τὸν πόλεμον

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5368–9

ὀλίγους καλλιώτερους ἡῦρισκες τοῦ Νεστόρου

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1451

ἂν εἶχε ζῆ ὁ Ἑκτορας ..., οὐκ ἐφοβούμεθαν νά

χάσωμεν ἀπ' αὐτοὺς

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 9871–2

ἂν εἶχεν τὸ ξεύρειν ὁ ἀποστολές ..., δέν

ἀφήνεν νά τοὺς πάρει

16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 32.7–8

NOTES

- (i) Less commonly, the aorist indicative is also used as a conditional. Since the action described in the main clause cannot precede that of the conditional clause in real time, the aorist here can only be interpreted as denoting a hypothetical/counterfactual consequence of the fulfilment of the condition:

ἂν μόνον ἀνενδράνισες, τὸ πρόσωπον ἂν εἶδες, ἔσεισθης ὄλην σου ψυχὴν, ὄλην σου τὴν καρδίαν

16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 817–18

μ' ἂν εἶχεν εἶσται κι ἄσκημος, τότες, τὴν ῶρα κείνη σὰν ἦβαλε τὸν πόθο της,

πολλὰ ἁμορφος ἐγίνη

18th c./16th–17th c., *KORNAROS*, *Erot.* II.549–50

- (ii) Conditional use of the imperfect arises from confusion of past habituality with conditionality, as also reflected in the two uses of English *would*, cf. *if ever X happened (at any times in the past/at any times in the non-past), Y would happen*. This is based on a failure to distinguish between real and relative time reference in conditional sentences and on the temporal non-specificity of both repeated/habitual and “pure” hypothetical eventualities (i.e. when not tied speculatively/counterfactually to real-world situations). Contrast the following example with those cited above:

κι ἂν ἦθε φάγω τὸ φαγί, εἰς πίκρα ἦφερνέ με κι ἂν ἦθε πιῶ καί τὸ πιτόν, εἰς ζάλη γύριζέ με

17th c., *PROSOPSAS*, *Peri tyflou* 103–4

Here the “conditional” in the protasis has a habitual sense and the imperfect in the apodosis denotes a series of events at indefinite intervals in the past. In LMedG/EMG the “habitual” imperfect was extended to conditional use just as “conditionals” were sometimes extended to habitual use.

- (iii) The conditional imperfect is used wherever other conditional forms occur, and as a consequence, though its form is necessarily invariant, it may carry both imperfective and perfective readings.

1.3 Commands and Prohibitions

- (12) Commands in the second person, singular and plural, may be expressed by the imperative, present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective).

2 sg. Present Imperative

πρὸ πάντων ἔχε τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν φόβον

13th–14th c./12th c., *Spaneas* P 1

2 pl. Present Imperative

τοῖνυν ὑπάγετε καλῶς

16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 242

2 sg. Aorist Imperative

ἄπαξ τὸν πόνον ἔπαρε καί ἀπομερίμνησέ το

13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS*, *Stichoi* 212

2 pl. Aorist Imperative

δεκτέτε καί ἔμένα

16th c., *KARTANOS*, *P&N Diath.* 350.20

NOTE

- (i) The aspectual contrast in imperatives is between ordering repeated or continuing activity (or the inception of such activity = "start doing X") and ordering specific, complete actions. There may, however, be morphological gaps in the paradigms of particular verbs that restrict the options in specific cases.

(13) Commands may also be expressed by the modal particle *νά* + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; 2nd-person forms are broadly equivalent to imperatives, but 3rd-person forms are also widely used, often in legal contexts such as wills etc.

2 sg. Present Subjunctive

νά τὸ ἐξεύρηται ὅτι ἡμεῖς μέλλομεν τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν
14th c., Cyprus, KODER et al. 2001: 245, 436.164–5

2 pl. Present Subjunctive

νά ἡξεύρετε ... ὅτι ἐγὼ τοῦ Ἰδοῦ τὰ καταχθόνια ἀφόρισα
16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 12.2–3 (Konstantinopulos)

2 sg. Aorist Subjunctive

τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ... νά τὴν πέμψῃς τὸν ἀββᾶν Γεράσιμον
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.15–16

2 pl. Aorist Subjunctive

νά σπουδάξετε νά ἔλθετε 1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.45

3 sg. Present Subjunctive

καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία νά δίδῃ τὴν λύσιν ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 33.80–1

3 pl. Present Subjunctive

ὅλα νά τὰ ἔχουν χωρὶς τινὸς λόγου 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.25–6

3 sg. Aorist Subjunctive

οἷος δὲ φανῇ εἰς ἀναζήτησιν ... νά δώσῃ καὶ πρόστιμαν
13th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 20, 9.6–7

3 pl. Aorist Subjunctive

νά μὲ λαζαρώσουν ὥσπερ τοὺς ὅλους καλογέρους
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.52

NOTES

- (i) The sense of *νά* + subjunctive in deontic use is similar to that of the English future/conditional in related function, cf. *you, s/he, they* shall/should *do X*. But it may be hard to distinguish commands from wishes in specific cases (cf. 1.5), and in 3 sg./pl. the deontic meaning is also very close to that of *ἄς* + subjunctive (see Rule (15) NOTE (ii) below).

- (ii) 2 pl. imperatives and 2 pl. subjunctives may be indistinguishable if traditional "subjunctive" spellings are not employed in a given text; there is therefore some indeterminacy about the relevant examples.
- (iii) Periphrastic forms used to refer to the future (see 1.2.2, Rules (5) and (6)) may also be used deontically, as expected. In this case 1 sg./pl. forms of the relevant auxiliaries are used alongside those of 2nd/3rd person, though it is often difficult to distinguish expressions of obligation or necessity from assertions of future intent, cf. *I must/will do X*:

περάσειν ἔχω ... τὸ ποτάμι 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1532
καὶ τοῦτο θέλει νά γένη 1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 285.5–6
σήμερο ... ἔχω ν' ἀποθάνω 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Erof.* V.285

(14) Corresponding prohibitions are sometimes expressed with *μή(ν)/μηδέν* and the present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) imperative, though the aorist is exceedingly rare; prohibitions are regularly expressed by *μή(ν)/μηδέν* + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive, sometimes prefixed with *νά*.

Imperative

Present Imperative

καὶ μὴ λογίζου παρ' ἡμῶν λυπηρὸν ὑποστῆναι 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G IV.699
τότε μὴ ζῆτει φυσικῆς ἀκολουθίας τάξιν 16th c./15th c., DELLAP. *Erot. apokr.* 2986
μὴ θέλε μανθάνειν ἢ ἀκούειν 15th–16th c., *Vios Aisop.* E 288.18
ὅπου φιλεῖς μὴ δάνειζε, καὶ ὅπου ἀγαπᾷς μὴ σύχναζε 16th c./15th c., *Paroim.* H 13

Aorist Imperative

μὴ ... κρίνατε κρίσιν 16th c./15th c., DELLAP. *Erot. apokr.* 1120
μὴ γένε σὺ ἀνελεήμονος 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* K 365.32

NOTE

- (i) *Μή* + aorist imperative was ungrammatical in AG and the number of possible examples in the Grammar database is very small. We may reasonably doubt whether this was ever a "normal" option in LMedG/EMG.

Bare Subjunctive

Present Subjunctive

καεῖς μὴ σὲ κομπῶν 15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 45
παγαίνετε ἀπὸ τὸν τόπον μου, ἐδῶ μὴδὲν ἀργῆτε
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1418 app. crit. (A)

Aorist Subjunctive

καὶ μὴ τολμήσης νὰ τὸ εἰπῇς ἀνθρώπου γεννημένου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8217
 μηδὲν πέψης ἄτυχους καὶ χάσης πολλά 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* O 22.35–6

Nὰ μή(ν) + Subjunctive

Present Subjunctive

καὶ νὰ μὴ φοβᾷται καὶ αὐτός 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 30.8

Aorist Subjunctive

ποσῶς νὰ μὴ ἀλαζονευτῇς 15th–16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 937

NOTE

- (i) In 3 sg./pl. forms the meaning is very close to that of ἄς μή(ν) + subjunctive (see Rule (15) NOTE (ii)).

- (15) Speaker-inclusive “exhortation” in 1 pl. and speaker-exclusive “encouragement” in 3rd person (normally with overtones of permission/acquiescence) are expressed with the particle ἄς (< aorist imperative of ἀφήνω “let”) + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is μή(ν), placed after the particle.

1 pl.

βουλή ἄς ἔχωμε ἀμφοτέροι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2838
 ἐνταῦτα στρέμμα ἄς ποιήσωμεν ἀπέσω εἰς τὴν Πόλιν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 838
 ἄς ποῦμεν ἄλλον τίβοτας νὰ πάρω σὰν ἄερα 16th c./15th c., *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 257

3 sg./pl.

καὶ ὁ χρήζων τοῦ ἄς τὸ ἐπάρη καὶ ὁ μὴ χρήζων τοῦ ἄς τὸ ἀφήση 12th c./11th c., *NIKON, Logos* 9 312.14–15
 οἶος δὲ φανῇ εἰς ἀναζήτησιν ..., ἄς ἔχη τὸ ἀνάθεμα 13th c., *Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH* 1927: 20, 9.6–7
 πάντες ἄς ἔλθωσιν, ἄς φθάσωσιν, ἄς περισυναχθῶσιν 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* V 17

NOTES

- (i) The present (imperfective) subjunctive is comparatively rare in this construction, and occurs mostly with verbs that lack an aorist (perfective) stem.
 (ii) In 3 sg./pl. forms the meaning of ἄς + subjunctive tends to merge with that of νὰ + subjunctive, cf. [if X happens], let him do Y/he should do Y, and consider the following example where the two types are conjoined:

ἄς ἔχη τὸ ἀνάθεμα καὶ νὰ δώσῃ καὶ πρόστιμαν
Pontos, 13th c., OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 20, 9.6–7

1.4 Questions and Exclamations

1.4.1 Questions

- (16) Constituent questions (introduced by an expression containing an interrogative pronoun/adverb) regularly use forms of the indicative, including “future” and “conditional” periphrases, with negative οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν.

For questions containing verb forms marked with νὰ, see Rule (18).

The phrase containing the interrogative element normally functions as a single constituent and stands initially in its clause; the verb is often attracted, coming immediately after it (only weak object pronouns may intervene). Occasionally, however, the interrogative pronoun/adverb stands alone in initial position, leaving the remainder of the interrogative constituent in place.

Present

τί θλίβεσαι τοσούτως; 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4903

τίντα δίκαιον ἔχει ὁ ρήγας μετὰ σας ...; 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 258.35–6

Past (Aorist)

πῶς ἡ καρδιά σου ἐβάσταξεν, ὑπόμεινε ἡ ψυχὴ σου ...; 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 12227

πῶς μᾶς ἐπαρτήθητε ...; 16th c., *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 70

Future/Modal

ποῖα μέλλει νὰ ᾔχη πλερωμὴ ἡ ἐδική μου ἀγάπη; 17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Panor.* IV.178

πῶς ἔχω νὰ τὸ χῶσω; 17th c., *KONDAR., Paidēs* 322

NOTES

- (i) Since all the future-referring periphrases also have modal readings (see Rule (5)), there is uncertainty about the interpretation of many examples.
 (ii) Constituent questions may also contain various forms of conditional periphrasis, as expected (see Rule (9)), with related uncertainties of interpretation:

ἂν ἔλειπε ἡ πανιρότη σου, ἴτα εἶχα ἐγὼ γίνε; 1612, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 4, 171.15–16

- (iii) Rhetorical questions have the same form as genuine requests for information:

ἀφότου ἔφυγεν δίχα νὰ πολεμήσῃ ..., πῶς ἔμποροῦμε ἡμεῖς ... νὰ βλάψωμεν τὸν τόπον; 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 9177–81

- (17) Yes/no questions also employ indicatives, including future/modal and conditional periphrases; negation with οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν forms a question that expects a positive answer; μή(ν)/μήνα (“perhaps”, “by any chance”) may be prefixed to a yes/no question for politeness.

For questions containing verb forms marked with νὰ, see Rule (18).

Positive

ἤκουσες το:

ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973, 59.148

ἔχουν μισόν:

post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 44, 38.4-5

Negative

οὐ ξεύρεις εἰς ἐριζικὸν κοίτεται ἡ στρατεία:14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4904οὐδὲν ἐντρέπεστε προσῶς νὰ παίζωμε ὥς κοπέλια:14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5394

+ μήν(α)

μήνα ἔχεις τίποτε βιβλίο νέο νὰ μοῦ πουλήσης:16th c., ZINOS, *Vatr. Prol.* 1μήν εἶδες, ἄγιε τοῦ Θεοῦ, καμία ... γυναῖκα ... νὰ περάση:17th c., MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1187-8

NOTE

- (i) It is a moot point whether the verb forms used after μήν(α) should be regarded as simple indicatives (as with SMG μήπως in this role), or as modal (as perhaps reflected in the variant μήνα if this is indeed < μή + νά rather than a remodelling based on the use of semantically related elements such as τάχα).

- (18) Questions of both kinds about the future also use νά + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive, with negative μή(ν) placed after the particle; the same construction is used for deliberative/speculative questions and the usual uncertainties of interpretation arise ("who will X?", "who is to X?", "who can/may X?" etc.).

The phrase containing the interrogative pronoun/adverb normally functions as a single constituent and stands initially in its clause; the verb is often attracted, coming immediately after it (only νά, μή(ν) and weak object pronouns may intervene).

ποῖον μαντάτον νὰ ὑπάγωμεν τὴν ταπεινὴν μας μάνα:15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 93ποῦ νὰ κρυβοῦν τὰ κάλλη σου ... καὶ πότε ... νὰ σὲ δῶ, πότε νὰ σὲ συντύχω, πότε ... νὰ φιλήσω τὰ ἔρωτικά σου κάλλη:15th c., *Achil.* L 1307-9ἴντα βουλή νὰ κάμωμε, τί στράτα νὰ κρατοῦμε ...:16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 10aἂν πάθης ἐσὺ τίποτε, τίς νὰ μέ παρηγορήσῃ:16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 26.15 (Konstantinopulos)νὰ εἶναι οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐτοῦτοι θεοί:16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 40.4-6 (Konstantinopulos)τοῦτοι ... τάχα νὰ εἶναι ἄνθρωποι:16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 111.36-7

NOTE

- (i) Various forms of conditional may also be used in deliberative/speculative questions about the past, present or future, again with the usual uncertainties of interpretation:

τὰ σκεύη τὰ πανάγια καὶ ποῦ νὰ καταντήσαν:15th c., *Anak. Konst.* 1-11ποῖον νὰ εἶχε πιάσῃ καὶ ὁ ἄγας; ποῖον νὰ ἤθελε φονέψῃ:17th c., BOUBOULIS, *Limbon.* 423

1.4.2 Exclamations

- (19) Interrogative pronouns/adverbs may be used with adjectives and adverbs to form exclamations; the verb is indicative if one is present.

τί φοβερός ὁ τόπος ἐτοῦτος!16th c., *Pent. Gen.* 28.17ἴντα κανίσκιν ἄσκημο μ' ἔχεις κανισκεμένη!17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Erof.* V.398πόσον καλὰ ὅπου ἔκαμεν ὁ πατέρας σου!17th c., *Bertoldin.* 129.1-2

NOTE

- (i) Other forms of exclamation include the following:

νά + subjunctive:

νὰ λέουν ὁκάποιος φτωχὸς ... ἐνίκησεν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν ἀδελφὸν ... !14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5008-9

"to have people say that some pauper defeated the king's brother!"

καλὰ "well" (used ironically) followed by a clause introduced by the "factive" complementizer πού (see 2.1, Rule (24)):

καλὰ πού τίς γνωρίζω!17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.93

1.5 Wishes

- (20) Wishes for the future use νά + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is μή(ν) placed after the particle. Since this construction also has a wide range of future/modal readings (see Rules (7), (13), (14)), ἄμποτε(ς) or μακάρι(ον) may be prefixed for clarity.

1 sg. νὰ μηδὲ τῆς μητέρας μου εὐχὴν κληρονομήσω15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 9072 sg. βίον εἰρηνικὸν νὰ ζήσης, νὰ περάσης17th c., PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O Prol. 53 sg. καὶ ὅστις εὐρέθη ἐμποδίζειν ... νὰ ἔχῃ τὸ ἀνάθεμα παρὰ πατρός υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος

1146, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 5, 619.4-6

κακὸν νὰ μὴ σᾶς ἔλθῃ15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1440ἡ γευχὴ τῇ πανιερότῃ σου νὰ μ' ἀξιώσει νὰ ἔρθω

1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 5, 173.21-2

3 pl. Κύριε Θεέ, ... θηρία νὰ μέ διαμοιραστοῦν15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 902-4

+ ἄμποτε

2 sg. ἄμποτε ... νὰ πάρῃς καλορριζικίαν, ἄμποτε καὶ τοῦ στέμματος νὰ γένῃςκληρονόμος, νὰ μηδὲ πάρῃς θάνατον15th c./14th-15th c., *Achil.* L 238-433 sg. ἄμποτε νὰ παρακληθῇ15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1353

- all pl. ἄμποτε νά γράψω, νά γράψοις, νά γράψοι· ἄμποτε νά γράψωμεν, νά γράψαιτε, νά γράψουν 16th c., SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 55.16–17
- + μακάρι
- 2 sg. μαγάρι νά ἔβρης στράτα 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz* IV.214
- 3 sg. μακάρι μὴ λουρδίζεσαι μετὰ [δισ]σά ματίτσια 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 241
- μακάρι μὴ νοήση 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 420
- μαγάρι ἐδὰ νά συβαστῇ, μαγάρι νά τὸ θέλῃ, μαγάρι ἐσένα ... γυναῖκα νά σοῦ μέλλῃ 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAOS, *Erot.* V.227–8

NOTES

- (i) The negative μὴ(ν) may sometimes be used without a preceding νά, as in the examples with μακάρι above and often also in 1 sg./pl. wishes, where the “strong” negative οὐ μὴ(ν) can be employed; since οὐ μὴ(ν) is also used in strong denials (cf. Rule (7) NOTE (iii)), the reader must be alert to the requirements of the context:

- καὶ οὐ μὴ μεμψῶ τέως εἰς τοῦτο παρὰ τῆς ἀγισσύνης σου 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 312.4–5
- καὶ οὐ μὴ χαρῶ τὴν περισσὴν ἀγάπην ἐδική σου 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 908
- μαντᾶτον οὐ μὴ μάθωμεν, ὅταν σᾶς θέλουν σφάζει 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1441
- φύγε ἀπὸ τὰ ὀμμάτια μου καὶ μὴν σέ ἰδῶ πλέον 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 37.21–3

- (ii) The aorist (perfective) subjunctive is far more common in wishes than the present (imperfective) subjunctive, which occurs regularly only with verbs that lack an aorist stem or at least make little use of their aorist stem.
- (iii) Given the semantic overlaps (cf. Rule (15) NOTE (ii)), ἄς sometimes appears in place of νά, though it is often impossible to discriminate between a wish and an expression of permission/encouragement:

- ἄς γένεται κατάθεσις με τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν φόβον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7921

- (21) Less hopeful wishes for the future and counterfactual wishes for the present and past use νά + the imperfect/aorist indicative (see Rule (10)) or νά + one of the infinitival conditional periphrases (see Rule (9)). The negative is μὴ(ν), and the particle νά may be omitted when the negative is present; once again, ἄμποτε(ς) or μακάρι(ον) may be prefixed.

νά + Past Indicative

- imperf. 1 sg. νά ἔξυρα πιδὸν τὴν σωτηριάν 16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 100.31
- imperf. 2 sg. σ' τούτους τοὺς γάμους νά 'σου, νά θώρειες τὰ παλάτια σου, νά βλεπες τὰ παιδιὰ σου 17th c., TROILOS, *Rodol.* IV.83–4

- imperf. 3 sg. νά ἦσουν πούπετες 17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1531
- imperf. 3 pl. νά γιαγέρνασι οἱ χρόν' οἱ περασμένοι 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.255
- aor. 1 sg. σήμερον νά ἀπόθανα 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 159
- aor. 3 sg. ὁ Θεὸς μὴ τὸ ἐποίκεν! 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5368
- καὶ ὁ Κύριος νά ἀφῆκε ζωὴ του χρόνου πολλούς 1383, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 89, 98.1–4
- νά μοῦ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐτουτηνάν τὴν χάριν 15th c., *Peri xen.* 237

νά + Conditional Periphrasis

- 2 sg. νά 'χες μ' ἀφήσειν πάντα κοιμισμένοι 16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 12.11
- νά ἤθελες ἐβλέπη τόσα κακὰ ποῦ κάμνουσιν ... τότε νά ἤθελες ἰδεῖ, νά ἤθελες πιστεύσῃ, τοὺς ἀτυχούς ἤθελες ξολοθρεύσῃ 17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1531–4
- 3 sg. νά 'χεν ἀστράψει ὁ οὐρανός, νά 'χε καγῆν ἡ ὥρα ὅταν ἐμένα ἐγέννησεν ἡ ταπεινὴ μου μάνα 15th c., *Peri xen.* 186–7
- νά 'χεν βρεθῆν κακὸν θεργιόν, ἐκείνον νά 'χεν φάγειν 17th–18th c./17th c., KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 70

+ ἄμποτε

- 1 pl. ἄμποτε νά ἀξιῶθῃμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς νά ἐπηγαίναμεν ἐκεῖ ... καὶ νά ζώσαμεν ἐκείνην τὴν μακαρίαν ζωὴν ... καὶ νά ἐβλέπαμεν ἐκεῖνο τὸ φῶς 16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 106.31–8

+ μακάρι(ον)

- 2 sg. μακάριον τε τὸ χάλασες, νά τὸ 'χες ἀφανίσει 16th c./15th c., *Deft. Par.* 271
- μαγάρι καὶ πρωτύτερας νά 'θελες μοῦ γρικῆσει 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz* II.319

NOTES

- (i) These wishes all take the form of conditional protases where the εἶχα + infinitive periphrasis found a natural home (see 3.3), thus making it the preferred option when an infinitival periphrasis is employed.
- (ii) Once again, ἄς may sometimes be substituted for νά:
- ἄς εἶχα μάτια σκοτεινά ... καὶ ἄς εἶχα σιδερὴ καρδιά 17th c./16th–17th c., *Thysia Avr.* 209–10

2 Complement Clauses

Subordinate clauses may function either as complements (elements whose presence is required by the main verb) or as adjuncts (modifying adverbial or adjectival elements whose presence is optional, see Chapter 3), and may be marked as such in various ways (e.g. through the use of a particular conjunction, mood or verb form). This chapter deals with clauses that complement various verb classes.

2.1 Verbs of "Reporting" and "Declaring"

(22) After verbs that report a speech, emotional response or perception, declare a belief or attest to knowledge (e.g. "say", "announce", "rejoice", "hear", "see", "think", "believe", "learn", "know" etc.) the regular form of sentential complementation in LMedG/EMG is a finite clause introduced by the complementizers *ὅτι* or *πώς* (in early or more learned texts sometimes also *ὥς*).

Such clauses normally contain either a past- or present-tense form of the indicative, or a future-referring or conditional verb form.

The tense of the "original" direct speech may always be retained, but the time reference of the verb in a complement clause may optionally be aligned to that of a past-tense main verb (*consecutio temporum* or "sequence of tenses").

The tense of the verb in the complement clause is given before each set of examples below.

Non-past Main Verb

Future

θαρροῦμεν ὥς ἵνα ἔλθῃ ὁ αὐτὸς κύρ Μιχαήλ
14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 147.4

Present

ἡεῦρετε ὅτι οἱ φρερήδες ... εὐρίσκονται ἔσσω τοῦ ἀφέντη
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 4.10–11

ἡεῦρε πὼς ἐγὼ ὀνομάζομαι ὁ δὸν Κισότης τῆς Μαντίας 18th c., Don Kis. 51.12–13

Aorist

γίνωσκε ... ὅτι οὐκ ἐγένετο ποτὲ δοῦλος πολλῶν κυρίων
15th c./12th c., Ptoch. (Maiuri) 14–15

ὁμολογᾷ ... πὼς ἐπῆρε καὶ ἐπαράλαβε ... ὑπέρπυρα ὀκτώ
1623, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1998: 6, 312.1–2

Tense of Original Retained after Past-Tense Main Verb

Future

εἶπαν ... ὅτι νὰ πᾶσιν ... εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τῆς ρήγαινας καὶ νὰ σκοτώσουν τὸν κοντοστάβλην
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 56.15–17

ἐθιόρκισέν τον ὅτι νὰ μὲν θελήσει ποττέ νὰ ποίσει τίτοιον κακόν
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 34.6–7

ἐθαρροῦσεν ὁ ἀρχιμανδρίτης πὼς ... νὰ μᾶς φοβερίσει
1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 34, 137.127–9

Present

ἐχαίρετο ὅτι εἶν' ἔμορφος, μετὰ τῆς ποθητῆς του 15th c./12th c., Dig. E 596

ἐγροίκεσε ὅτι ἔχει τὴ χάριν αὐτῇ 16th c., Nov. II 161.12

Aorist

καὶ εἶπαν του πὼς ὁ Θούμας ἐπέψεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 4.17

Conditional

ἐμάθαμεν πὼς τὸ ... καράβι νὰ ἐπνίκεν καὶ εἶχαμεν φορτώσει εἰς αὐτὸ μαλλιά ..., καὶ ὕστερα ἀκούσαμε πὼς νὰ ἐβγαλαν τὰ πράγματα ὅλα
1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 17, 217.6–9

ὁ δεῦτερος συγγραφεὺς δὲν ἐπίστευσε πὼς νὰ μὴν ἐπερίγραψαν ... τοιαύτην περιέργον ἱστορίαν
18th c., Don Kis. 53.12–14

Tense of Original Backshifted after Past-Tense Main Verb (*consecutio temporum*)

Aorist > Pluperfect

ἤυρασιν ὅτι εἶχαν πλέον κερδίσει 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 650

Present > Imperfect

ἔδειχνεν ὅτι αὖξαινε ὁ σπόρος του τὴν νύκταν
16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 334.41–2

ἐγράψασί μου ... πὼς ἐθαρροῦσεν ὁ ἀρχιμανδρίτης
1709, Chios, PAPAISTRATOU 1981: 34, 137.127–9

NOTES

- (i) As expected, the meaning of verb forms marked with *νὰ* in a *ὅτι/πὼς* clause is often indeterminate between simple future "will/would" and modal "may/might", "can/could", "shall/should" (see 1.2.2).
- (ii) With frequently occurring verbs, and particularly with *λέ(γ)ω*, the complementizer may be omitted:
νὰ λέουν ὁκάποιος φτωχὸς ... ἐνίκησεν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν ἀδελφόν ...
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 5008–9
φαίνεται τον στό σπῆτιν του εὐρίσκεται ἀπέσω 15th c., Peri xen. 34
καὶ εἶπεν, κερδαίνει τὴν ἀραβῶνα 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. O 86.2–3

καὶ αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν θεὸν νὰ ὑποκλιθοῦν εἰς τὸ κοινόβιον

1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.56-7

- (iii) Occasionally in negated future complements the expected νὰ is absent (cf. Chapter 1, Rules (14) and (20) plus NOTES for similar omissions in negative prohibitions and wishes):

μηνοῦμε σας ὅτι ... μηδὲν σουφριάσετε κανένα μας ὀφισιάλην

1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 7, 7.1-2

- (23) It is common in later LMedG and EMG (ca. 15th c. onwards) for an ὅτι/πὼς complement to be replaced by an indicative clause conjoined with καί.

This may represent an extension of the semantically natural use of conjoined clauses with control verbs in order to emphasize the actual occurrence of an otherwise merely potential consequence of the action of the main verb (for which see Rule (26)).

But there is no inherent consequentiality in ὅτι/πὼς complements and this type is perhaps better understood as involving omission of the complementizer (cf. Rule (22) NOTE (ii)) with partial grammaticalization of intensifying καί "actually": cf. μηδὲ θαρροῦς πὼς

... κί' ἤμουνα κοιμισμένη, "don't think I was actually asleep", CHORTATIS, Katz. II.161-2.

ἀθθυμοῦμαι τὸν βισκούνην, τὸν πράχτορα καὶ τὰ δελοιπὰ φέκκια καὶ δὲν τ'

ἀλλάξαν ποττέ

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 78.27-8

δὲ θέλειν τὸ προβιάσειν ποττέ τινὰς καὶ ἐγυρέψα νὰ ποίσω τιτοῖον πρᾶμα

16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 60.19

δὲν λέγω καὶ κλινίσκει σας ἡ πείνα τῶν θεϊκῶν λογί(ων) 16th c., Pist. kekoim. 11-12

ἦν καὶ ἦτονε γεννημένος ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός

16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 329.23

NOTES

- (i) In the vast majority of cases the subject of the subordinate clause is referentially distinct from that of the main clause.
(ii) In later texts this construction is particularly frequent with "factive" verbs of perception or discovery (see Rules (24) and (28)):

ψηλαφώντας την ἠβλέπει καὶ εἶναι παρθένος ὥσπερ ἦτον

16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 329.35-6

τὸ (παιδί) ἦν καὶ ἐπροφήτευσεν πολλὰ μέλλοντα πράγματα

16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 335.17-18

τὴν εἶδα ὁπὲς κί' ἐθώρειε σε

17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, Katz. II.93

ἐὰν δὴ καὶ ἐξετάση καὶ εἶναι ἔττι ἡ ἀλήθεια

1661, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1974/78: 4, 423.12

- (24) Verbs of knowledge, perception and emotional response (e.g. "know", "learn", "see", "hear", "be ashamed", "rejoice", "regret" etc.) are "factive" verbs that presuppose the speaker's/writer's belief in the truth of their complements. In EMG factivity may be marked by the use of the complementizer (ὅ)που.

With perception verbs factivity is dependent on direct as opposed to indirect perception, contrast *X heard Y happening* with *X heard that Y was happening*.

θυμάσταν που δειλιάζετε σὲ πόλεμον νὰ βγῆτε;

16th c., Alex. Rim. 1759

ἤξεύρετε ὅπου τὸ ἔχει ὁ κόσμος καὶ οἱ ἐδικοὶ τοῦ συνήθεια

16th c., PAPA-LAVR., Diigisis (Meteoron) 105.24

καὶ συμπάθησέ μου τὸ που σοῦ τὸ γραφῶ

1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 5, 173. 21

εἶδα τὴν που καθότουνε καὶ τὴν Εὐγένεα ἐκράτει

17th c., MONTESEL., Evgena 190

τὸ ἔχω μεγάλο παράπονο ὅπου οἱ ἄλλοι πραγματευτάδες ἔλαβαν γραφὴν ἀπὸ

τούς Κοθωναίους

1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 19, 218.3-4

ἤξεύρετε καλὰ ὅπου ἐγυρίσαμεν ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην 18th c./17th c., Alex. Fyll. 114.29

NOTE

- (i) Verbs of perception and emotional response are also used as control verbs, see Rule (28).

2.2 Control Predicates

- (25) Verbs meaning "want", "try", "dare", "ask", "allow", "expect", "order", "make" etc. require complements denoting prospective/potential activities. In LMedG the complement may take the form of a bare infinitive, either present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective). Negation is of the main verb.

The subject of the infinitive is obligatorily "missing" and its content is "controlled" by the subject or, if the verb is transitive, the object of the main verb; i.e. the reference, grammatical case, person, number and gender of the main-clause subject/object are automatically adopted by the missing subject and some of these features may be visible if there is an agreeing subject complement.

πολλὰ πολλὰ ἀγαπῶ διὰ πράξεως λαλεῖν τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον

12th c./11th c., NIKON, Logos 31 814.1-2

τίς τῆς καρδιάς τοῦ τὴν χαρὰν νὰ ἰσχύση καταλέγειν;

?12th c. or 13th-14th c., Eisit. f.7v.3-4

πὼς τὸν παρακαλοῦσιν ... νὰ καταδέξεται γενεὴ εἰς αὐτοὺς καπετᾶνος

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 233-6

εἴτις δὲ βουλευθῇ κατελῦσαι τὸ παρὸν γράμμα, νὰ ἔνι ἀσυγχώρητος

14th-15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.14-15

τὸ ὠραιόκαρπον ... δένδρον τὸ ὑψηλότατον ὅπου σᾶς εἶπε φεύγειν

15th c., CHOUMNOS, Kosmog. 69-70

NOTES

- (i) The overwhelming majority of infinitival examples in the database involve subject control.
(ii) By the later medieval period the set of verbs of this class taking an infinitival complement is greatly reduced, essentially to verbs expressing "wish" or "desire":

εἴτις δὲ βουληθῇ κατελῦσαι τὸ παρὸν γράμμα, νὰ ἐνὶ ἀσυγχώρητος
14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.14–15

οὔτε βουλόμεθα ἀναδέξασθαι πλεόν γουμάριν
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: [α'], 292.18–19

καὶ ἂν τὸν θέλῃς ἀγαπᾶ, φρόντιζε τὴν ψυχὴ σου
17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2015

- (iii) Occasionally, the infinitival complement is nominalized with the genitive of the definite article (τοῦ). This may represent an extension of the ancient use of the genitive articular infinitive to express purpose, itself an extension of the original adnominal use after nouns expressing “wish”, “desire” etc.:

παρακαλῶ τὴν κόρτην ... τοῦ κατελθῆναι ἐπάνω εἰς τὸν τόπον καὶ μαθεῖν τὴν
ἀλήθειαν
1224, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 30, 447.5–7

οἷος γοῦν βουλεθῇ τοῦ ἀνατρέψαι αὐτούς
?1358, ?Macedonia, LEMERLE 1988: App. II C, 231.11

εἰ θέλετε τοῦ ζῆν, φύγετε, μὴν σταθῇτε
16th c./14th c., *Synax. gadar.* 41

ἡῦρα δεντρὸν ἐξαίρετον καὶ ῥέχθην τοῦ πεζεύσειν
16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 20

- (26) More usually, LMedG/EMG employs finite clauses containing νὰ + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive (negative μὴ(ν)) to complement “control” verbs, and this has become the norm in the later medieval period.

Since such clauses lack an overt complementizer, the particle–verb combination typically follows the governing verb directly in order to mark its connection.

The meaning of some main verbs may allow for non-coreferential subjects in the finite subordinate clause: contrast *X persuaded Y that Z should do something* with *X persuaded Y that s/he (= Y) should do something*.

When the subject is coreferential it is omitted but agrees with its controller in person, number and gender, as shown by verbal agreement and (if present) subject complements.

ἐπρόσταξα καὶ προστάσσω πρὸς σέ ... ἵνα μὴ ἔχῃς ἐξουσίαν εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην
μονήν
1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16

οὐκ ἠθελαν ν' ἀφήσουσιν τοὺς Φράγκους νὰ ἀπεράσουν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 409

εἰς τρία ἀλλάγια τοὺς ἔποικεν νὰ εἶναι χωρισμένοι
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5679

ἦλθε καιρὸς ... νὰ παρακαλέσουσιν ... τὴν κυρίαν, νὰ δεηθῇ πρὸς κύριον τοῦ νὰ
μᾶς δώσῃ νῆκος
16th c./15th c., *Alosis* 288–95

ἀλλὰ δὲν τὸν εἶπε ποτὲ ὁ λογισμὸς τοῦ νὰ γένῃ κακὸς ἄνθρωπος
16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 105.2–3

τὸ χάρισμα ὁπό'χω γὰρ δὲ θέλω νὰ τὸ κρύψω, ζῶντα μου θέλω κανενὸς νὰ τοῦ τ'
ἀποκαλύψω
16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 276B

καὶ τοὺς ἔβαλε νὰ κόψουνε ἀτοί τοὺς τὰ παιδιά τοὺς
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.8

οἱ ἱερεῖς δὲν ξεύρουσι τὰ βρέφη νὰ βαπτίσουν
17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2201

λέγοντάς μου ἵνα τοῦ ποιήσω τὴν μπαρούσαν κοντραντιζιόν
1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.1–2

NOTES

- (i) If the meaning of the main verb permits, the νὰ-clause may also contain a past indicative:

ἂν ἤθελα λεπτῶς νὰ σέ τὰ ἔγραψα ὅλα ... πολλὰ ἠθέλαν βαρεθῇ ἐκεῖνοι ὅπου τὸ
ἀκούσιν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2816–18

“if I were to have written it all in detail for you, my listeners would be very bored”

- (ii) The lack of an overt complementizer in νὰ-clauses may be “remedied” in a number of ways, often (though not exclusively) when there is a gap between the main verb and its complement:

(a) with ὅτι/πὼς (as with verbs of “reporting” etc., see Rule (22))

(b) with διὰ/γιά (otherwise used with νὰ in final clauses, see 3.1)

(c) with τοῦ (as used with infinitives, see Rule (25) NOTE (iii))

With ὅτι/πὼς

αὐτὸς ὁ σκύλος ... δὲν ἠθελεν πὼς νὰ τὸν προσκυνήσῃ
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 339.9–10

ἐπαρακάλεσεν ... τὸν πατριάρχην ... ὅτι νὰ κάμουν δέησιν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 415.7–9

δίδει ἀουτοριτάν ... ὅτι νὰ ἡμπορῇ νὰ τήνε ντεφεντέρη
1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.4–7

With διὰ/γιά

ἠθελα διὰ νὰ τὸν ἐρωτήσω τίς ἐναι καὶ πόθεν ἐνὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος
15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 18–19

εἶπε διὰ ν' ἀρχίσουν οἱ σάλπιγγες γιὰ νὰ λαλοῦν
16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 845–6

τάσσει ... νὰ κάμῃ τὸ Γιάννη Τουρκογιάννη ... γιά νὰ στείρου ὁμάδι ... τὰ
χωράφια
1611, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 729, 632.10–11

With τοῦ

οὐδὲν ἀφῆναν γὰρ ἑσᾶς ... τοῦ νὰ κρατῇτε ἐδῶ προνοῖες
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2695–6

ὄρεξιν εἶχε πᾶμπολλην τοῦ νὰ περιπατήσῃ
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 81

- (27) A νὰ-complement is often replaced by a clause with an indicative verb apparently conjoined with καί.

This may once again involve omission of the complementizer and partial grammaticalization of intensifying καί (cf. Rule (23)). But here the consequential relationship between the action of the main verb and that of the complement allows naturally for conjunction,

especially when there is emphasis on the actual occurrence of an otherwise merely projected/anticipated consequence: contrast *X commanded and Y (actually) carried out the order* with *X commanded Y to carry out the order*.

- ὁ Θεὸς ἐπρόσταξεν καὶ ἦλθε τοῦ ροῖ Κάρλου ἡ ἀφεντία
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 6279–80
- ᾤρισεν καὶ ἦλθασιν οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς βουλῆς του
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7828
- εἶπέτε τί σᾶς ἔκαμα καὶ εἴσταν λυπημένοι
16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 1752
- ἔβαλα τὸν ἄνωθεν παπὰ καὶ ἔγραψεν μὲ τὴν ἴδιαν του χέρα
1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 779, 677–8.61

NOTES

- (i) As with instances of καὶ replacing ὅτι/πῶς (see Rule (23)), the vast majority of examples have non-coreferential subjects in the main and subordinate clauses (i.e. the substitution normally involves examples that would otherwise exhibit object control).
- (ii) Very occasionally the indicative follows asyndetically:

- τοὺς Βενετικούς ἀφῆσαν τὴν θάλασσαν φυλάττουν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 640
- ᾤρισε ἠφέρασιν τὸ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7929

(28) Factive verbs (cf. rule (24)) meaning “see”, “hear”, “sense”, “find” etc. may also function as control verbs taking a νά-complement.

The subjunctive is normally present (imperfective), marking the ongoing nature of the activity perceived. But an aorist (perfective) subjunctive may be used when the sense requires it: contrast *X heard Y do Z* (potentially perfective) with *X heard Y doing Z*.

Present Subjunctive

- κι ἂν εὐρώμεν τὸν βασιλέα εἰς κάμπον ν’ ἀναμένῃ, ... τὸν θέλομεν πολεμήσει
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3650–1
- καὶ τώρα βλέπουν σε γυμνὴ νά εἶσαι τροπιασμένη
16th c., DEFAR., *Sos.* 222 (Holton)

Aorist Subjunctive

- εἶχεν μέγαν διλίτιν νὰ τοῦ γροικῆσῃ νὰ τραγουδήσῃ
16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 109.4–5
- εἶδαμε στὴ χώρα μας Πέρσοι νὰμποῦσι τόσοι
17th c., TROILOS, *Rodol.* V.156

NOTES

- (i) As with other control verbs (cf. Rule (27)), the νά-complement may be replaced with an indicative clause conjoined with καί:

- νεκρὸν εἶδα κ’ ἐκέιτετον
16th c./15th c., *Om. Nehr. Vas.* 23
- εἶδαν τὸν Δημήτριον ζωντανὸν καὶ ἐκάθετον
16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 106.14–15
- τὴν εἶδα ὁψὲς κι’ ἐθώρειε σε
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.94
- τὸν εἶδε καὶ ἐπέρνα, τὸν ἐπαρακάλεσε νὰ μὴν τὸν ἀπαντονάρῃ
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 39.34–5

- (ii) In LMedG factive verbs of emotional response such as “be ashamed” may also take νά-complements (though none of the examples in the database involve coreferential subjects):

- οὐκ αἰσχύνεσαι ... νὰ γαμῇ τὸ μουνὶν σου παπᾶς;
14th c./12th c., TZETZES, *Epil. Theogon.* 21
- οὐδὲν ἐντρέπεστε ποσῶς νὰ παίζωμε ὡς κοπέλια;
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5394

(29) Modal verbs (expressing “ability/possibility” or “necessity”) and verbs of aspectual specification (“start/continue/stop” [doing X]) are complemented either by bare infinitives or, beginning in the 14th c., by νά-clauses.

These verbs all *modify* the activities denoted by their complements rather than denoting distinct actions in their own right.

Modal verbs may be personal or impersonal, aspectual verbs are personal; in personal use all these verbs involve subject control.

Νά is normally followed by a subjunctive, but modals may also take νά + a past-tense indicative when the situation described is hypothetical/counterfactual.

Aspectual verbs take an imperfective verb form in their complement because the modified activity is necessarily viewed imperfectively, i.e. is never bounded by both a beginning and an end to form a complete whole (as required for an aorist/perfective to be used).

Modal Verbs

Ability/Possibility + Infinitive

- καὶ ψηλαφῶντες ἀκριβῶς οὐκ ἔμποροῦν τὴν εὐρεῖν
15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 124
- τὸ κάλλιον καὶ διαφορικόν, ὅπου ἔχομεν ποιήσῃ, ἐνὶ γὰρ νὰ ἀπέλθωμεν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3647–8
- ἄλλα πλεῖστα πράγματα τὰ οὐκ ἔμπορῶ σᾶς γράψῃ
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7802
- εἰ ἔμπορέσῃ, δυνήθη συμπεθερίαν ποιήσῃ ... νὰ ἐπάρῃ ὁ υἱὸς γὰρ τοῦ ρηγὸς τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκείνου
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 6285–7
- κάνεις οὐδὲν ἐμπόρειεν ἀναδείξαι τὴν εὐμορφίαν τοῦ παραδείσου
15th c., *Hist. Imp.* I 82–3

Necessity + Infinitive

- οὐ γὰρ εἶν ἀνάγκη ... περὶ πίστεως δογματίζειν
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 312.23
- ἀλλὰ πρότερον ὀφείλομεν τρέχειν
ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 244.609
- ὁ λίζιος ἄνθρωπος χρεώσται ποιῆσαι τοῦτο
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7571

NOTE

- (i) Infinitival complements may sometimes be nominalized with the genitive of the definite article, as with other control verbs (see Rule (25) NOTE (iii)):

- δὲν ἔμπορῶ τοῦ γράφειν
15th c., *Peri xen.* 356
- πῶς καὶ πότε ἠφάνισεν ἔξαπορῶ τοῦ γράφει
16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 14

Ability/Possibility + *νά*-clause

- οὐκ εἶχεν γὰρ *νά* μάχεται με ἄνθρωπον τοῦ κόσμου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3144
ἀλλὰ ποσῶς οὐκ ἔμπορεῖ *ἵνα* τοὺς περικόψῃ 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 660
ἐμήνυσεν ... πῶς *νά* μπορήσῃ *ν'* ἀφεντεύσῃ τὸν λαόν 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.21–2
τοὺς ποίους δὲν εἶναι *νά* τοὺς ἀνοματίσω 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 50.13–14
νά τὸν ἐδιώξου μπορετὸ δὲν εἶναι τῶν ἀθρώπων 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Erof.* I.198
τώρα μπορᾶ (< μπορεῖ *νά*) καυχοῦμαι 17th c., BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 577.25

Necessity + *νά*-clause

- ἔπρεπε σὲ τὸ πρόβατον *νά* μὴ μᾶς λοιδορήσῃς 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 458
ἔπρεπέ τὸν *νά* ᾠόρεσε μαντὶ καὶ καμηλαύχῃ 16th c., *Kakop.* 127

Verbs of Aspectual Specification

+ Infinitive

- ἄρχασεν οὕτως λέγει τοῦ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 233
ἀφίνω ἐδῶ λέγειν καὶ ἀφηγᾶσθαι διὰ τὸν Γουλιάμον πρίγκιπα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5922–3
ὁ ρήγας ἄρξετον λαλεῖ τῆς ρήγαινας 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7118

NOTE

- (i) The infinitive may occasionally be nominalized with the definite article, either accusative τὸ or genitive τοῦ (cf. Modal verbs NOTE (i) above):

- καὶ ἤρξαντο τοῦ παλῆιν 16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 180
πουρνὸν τὸ τρέχειν ἤρχισα 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 11
πουρνὸν τοῦ τρέχειν ἤρχισα 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 11
λοιπὸν τὸ τρέχειν ἔπαυσα ... καὶ τὸ σπουδάζειν 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 15

+ *νά*-clause

- ὁ ρήγας ἄρξετον λαλεῖ τῆς ρήγαινας *νά* λέγῃ, τοῦ *νά* ἐπαινῇ τὸν πρίγκιπα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7118–19
παύομαι ἐδῶ *νά* λέγω 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7955
ἄρχίζοντας *νά* βουλᾶ 17th c., KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 14.30

NOTES

- (i) As with other control verbs (see Rule (26) NOTE (i)) the absence of a complementizer in the *νά*-clause is sometimes “remedied” (often after a gap), in this case with *διά/γιά* or *τοῦ*:

- ἐξηγήτην ... πῶς ἄρχισεν τὰ ἐπάσχισεν τοῦ *νά* με ἀφηγᾶται 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 3778–80

εἶπε διὰ *ν'* ἄρχισουν οἱ σάλπιγγες *γιά* *νά* λαλοῦν, *διὰ* *νά* πολεμήσουν 16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 845–6

- (ii) As with other control verbs (see Rule (27)), a *νά*-clause after verbs meaning “begin” is often replaced by an indicative clause conjoined with *καί*:

- ἄρχισαν καὶ ἐρχόντησαν κ' ἐπροσκυνοῦσαν ἄλοι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1640
ἄρχάζουν οἱ ἄπαντες ... καὶ κάμνουσιν τὰ ὁμάτζια στὸν πρίγκιπα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7889–90
τούτῃ ἡ εἰκόνα ἄρχισε καὶ ἐχαλᾶτον 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.39–40
ἄρχισε καὶ ἔβγανε φωνές 16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 106.26
ἄρχισαμεν καὶ ἐπεριπατούσαμεν ὡς πρὸς τὰς Ἀνατολάς 16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 108.24–5

- (iii) Occasionally the indicative verb form follows asyndetically, and in this case an aorist (perfective) may be used if the process of inception is treated as a separate event, e.g. “X began and (then) did Y”:

- ἐκ τὴν χολὴν τοῦ τὴν πολλὴν ἄρχισε ἐχαμογέλα 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1401
ἄρχισεν ἐξέβαινεν ἔξω ἐκ τὰ νησιά 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 155
ἄρχισαν ἐτζακίσασιν τὰ σπῖτια, τὰ σεντούκια 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 658

2.3 Verbs of “Fearing” and “Precaution”

- (30) Future-referring complements to verbs of “fearing” etc. are introduced by the “modal” negatives *μή(ν)/μηδέν* or *μήπως καὶ* + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is *οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν*.

- φοβεῖ σε μὴ ἔλθῃ μήνυμα 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 150
ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι ... μὴ οὐκ ἔνι εἰς ἀρεστὸν σου 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G II.115
εἶχεν μέγαν φόβον μὴ πιάσῃ καὶ τυφλώσῃ τον, εἰς φυλακὴν τὸν βάλῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4891–2
ὁ νοῦς μου σ' ἐγνοία μπαίνει μὴν εἶν' κιανεῖς στὸ σπῖτι της 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* II.94–5
στέκει ... μ' ἐγνοία πολλὰ μεγάλη μὴ λάχῃ νά τσι βρούσινε 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Erof.* III.137–8
φοβούμενη μήπως καὶ καλέσῃ τὴν ἐ Θ(εό)ς 1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.5–6
ἔχοντας ρεσπέτο ... μήπως καὶ δώσου του ... πείραξῃ 1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 193, 202.4–203.5
ἐσκιάκτῃ μήπως καὶ ἔλθῃ ὁ Σακοῦκος ὁ Περσιάνος καὶ τότε βάλῃ ὁμπρὸς 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.26
φοβοῦμαι μὴν δὲν θέλῃ αὐτός 17th c., MONTSEL., *Evgena* 443
φυλάγου τὴν λίαν μήπως καὶ πέσῃ σ' ἔρωτα καὶ σὰς ἀποδεχάσῃ 17th c., PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 48

NOTES

- (i) The same construction is used with verbs of "hindrance":

ἐμπόδιζε, Χριστέ μου, μὴ παίξῃ κοντογύρισμα καὶ ἐπάρῃ τὸ ραβδὶν μου καὶ
δῶση καὶ ποιήσῃ με στραβὸν παρὰ διαβόλου 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 175–8

- (ii) Very rarely the negative particle μή(ν) is preceded by νά:

φοβοῦμαι νά μὴν πάθῃ τίβοτις 1584, Italy, PAPADOPOULOS 1978: 1, 318.10

- (iii) Fears relating to the past involve the use of past-tense indicatives:

φοβοῦμαι νά μὴν τόχασσα, temo haverlo perso 17th c., GERMANO, *Grammar* 85.25–6

2.4 Verbs Taking Indirect Questions

- (31) Indirect questions are introduced by an expression containing/consisting of an appropriate interrogative pronoun or adverb (constituent questions) or by the conditional conjunctions εἰ/ἐάν/ἄν (yes/no questions); variant forms of the latter include ἀνέν καί (< ἄν ἔναι καί) and ἀνίσως καί (< ἄν ἴσως καί).

Εἰ is typical of earlier or more formal texts, as is the restriction of ἐάν/ἄν to future-referring clauses containing a subjunctive verb; the generalized use of ἐάν/ἄν is typical of later and more vernacular texts.

The verb is indicative, future/modal or conditional, normally retaining the tense of the "original" direct question after a past-tense main verb (i.e. there is no sequence of tense requirement, cf. Rule (22) for indirect statements).

Subjunctives are used without νά in embedded future-referring yes/no questions (cf. 3.3 on conditional clauses).

The examples below are grouped according to the tense of the embedded question (that of the corresponding direct question in each case).

Constituent Questions

Future/Modal

βουλὴν ἐζήτησεν ... τοῦ νά τὸν συμβουλέψουν περὶ ... τοῦ Μορέως πῶς νά τὸν
κυβερνήσῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7829–30

οὐδὲν ἠξεύρω τὸ σιτάρι ποῦ νά καταβαίῃ ἀπὸ τὸ Λεοντάρι
1431, Ragusa, LAMBROS 1930: 29.21–2

τί νά εἰπῶ καὶ τί νά ἀφήσω δὲν κατέχω 17th c., *Diig. Sant.* 56.63–4

Present

ἤθελα διὰ νά τὸν ἐρωτήσω τίς ἔναι καὶ πόθεν ἔνι ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τί ναι τὸ
στενάζει 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv. E* 18–19

εἶντα μιλοῦσι τὰ πουλιά ξεύρει 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor. I* 267

Aorist

ἐξεθύμανεν εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας πῶς τες ᾤφθσαν καὶ ἔκαμαν τοιοῦτον μέγα
πράγμα 16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 247.12–13

κατέχεις ... πόσα κακὰ ἐποίησα

17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 40.30

Yes/No Questions

Future/Modal

τὸν κάμπον νά τηρήσω, ἂν ἔν καὶ εὖρω πούπετε τόπον ν' ἀποκουμπήσω
16th c./15th c., *Om. Nokr. Vas.* 13–14

Present

ἐπροέγραψα τῆς πανιερότη σου ... ἂν ἔναι νά μᾶς ἐγβάλῃς ἓνα ματάτο
1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 5, 173.23–4

μέ ἐρώτησε ἀνίσως καὶ ἔχουν νά κάμουν ἀγάπην μέ τοὺς Πολονέζους
1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 57.20–1

Aorist

λεπτομερῶς τοὺς ἐρωτᾷ ... ἂν ἦσαν τὴν δρεξίν τους 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 385–6

NOTES

- (i) It is common in more vernacular texts for constituent indirect questions to be nominalized with τό:

ὡς εἶδεν τοῦτον ὁ ἀμιράς, ἄκο τὸ τίνα λέγει 15th c./12th c., *Diig. E* 517

καὶ τότε δίδουν τὴν βουλὴν τὸ ποῦ νά πᾶν νά κλέψουν
15th c., *Diig. Ven.* 81

ἔπεσεν εἰς λογισμόν μέγα, τὸ πῶς νά ποιήσῃ νά μηδὲν ἐντροπιαστῇ
16th c., *Diig. Alex. K* 361.27–8

- (ii) Οὐκ/(οὐ)δὲν ἔχω ("I am at a loss") is commonly used to introduce "deliberative" indirect questions containing an infinitive (well attested in this function to the end of the period of this Grammar) or, in later texts, a future/modal verb form marked with νά:

Infinitive

καὶ τί φορεῖν οὐκ ἔχω 12th c., *Ptoch. III* 231

τὸ τί ποιήσει οὐκ εἴχασιν 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 4084

δὲν ἔχει πῶς κάμει ἀλλέως παρὰ νά πάρῃ τὴν πρελατσιὸν
1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 187, 198.4

καὶ δὲν εἴχαμεν ἵντα στιμάρει 1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 779, 676.27

καὶ δὲν εἶχε τί κάμει 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.28

νά + Subjunctive

ποῦ νά τῶν δώσῃ δὲν εἶχε πλῖα 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok. A* 420

δὲν ἔχουν τὸ ποῦ γράμματα νά μαθαίνουν 17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2197

3 Adverbial Clauses

Many subordinate clauses function as adjuncts, i.e. as optional adverbial or adjectival constituents of sentences (see 5.3.3 for the latter). This chapter deals specifically with the different types of adverbial clause.

3.1 Final (Purpose) Clauses

(32) Purpose is normally expressed by means of a subjunctive verb form (imperfective or perfective) marked with the particle ἵνα/νά placed at the beginning of the final clause; the negative is μή(ν)/μηδέν, which may itself stand clause-initially without νά.

In LMedG the clause as a whole may be nominalized with τοῦ.

From ca. 15th c. onwards the particle may be reinforced with διὰ/γιά "for", or, somewhat earlier but less commonly, ὅπως "so (that)".

Νά is often omitted in negative final clauses, as noted, especially when there is a clear additional nuance of fear or precaution (cf. 2.3).

+ ἵνα/νά (omissible in negatives) + Subjunctive

παραβίβαζε τον ... μήνα ... λυτρωθοῦμεν τον γοργόν, νά μή μᾶς παραβλέπη
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 525–8

βλέπε εἰς τὸ ἐν μή πάθης δέκα 13th c. /?, *Paroim.* A 120

κράτησον τὰ φουσσαῖτα σου μηδέν ἐβγουςιν ἔξω 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1117

ἔγραψεν ..., νά ἰδοῦσιν τὰ προστάγματα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7852–4

κ' ἤθελεν ποιήσει ... ἔπαινον του μέγαν, ... μή προῦ ἀπορήσῃ παντελῶς, καὶ χάσουν
τον οἱ Φράγκοι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8531–5

ἐξέβη ... ἀπὲ τὴν Λευκωσίαν νά πάγῃ στήν Γένουβα
1390, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 11, 89.2–3

τὰ κάτεργα ἔκαυσα ἵνα μὴν ἔναι ἐπιστροφή 16th c./14th c., *Velis.* p 297

ἔδωκαμεν ... τὸ ἀμπέλιον, ἵνα ἔχῃ αὐτὸ καὶ δεσπόζῃ
14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 147.2–3

σὲ τὴν ἔδωκαμεν νά χαίρεσαι με ταύτην 16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 22

+ τοῦ νά

καὶ δένει με εἰς τὴν σέλαν μου σφικτὰ τοῦ νά μή πέσω 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 3306

μέ πονηρίαν ἀπόστειλεν τοὺς καταπατητᾶδες τοῦ νά μαθαίνῃ ... τὲς τῶν Φραγκῶν
γὰρ πράξεις 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1049–50

+ διὰ/γιά νά

καὶ ἐλάλεν τοὺς το ..., γιά ν' ἀφήσουν τὸν ρήγα εἰς τὴν ἀφεντίαν του
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 50.20–3

ἐπέψεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, διὰ νά πᾶν εἰς τὸ σπίτιν του
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 4.17–18

εἶπεν γιὰ 'κεῖνο τὸ κάμνει ..., γιά νά μή μπορᾷ τὸ κόψη οὐδένας
1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 662, 576.14–15

ὁ Θεὸς ἠθέλησε νά φανερώσῃ ... τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὁδία νά μὴν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἄσεβεῖς
καμμίαν πρόφασιν 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.26

+ ὅπως νά

τοὺς ἔγραψεν ... ὅπως νά καταλάβωσιν ἐκεῖσε εἰς τὴν Κλαρέντσα
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7852–3

ἔθεσαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀναγεγραμμένη μονή ... ὅπως νά ἱεουργᾷ καὶ ψάλλῃ τὴν
αὐτὴν μονή εἰς ὕμνον 1558, Corfu, KONDOYANNIS/KARYDIS 1994: 2, 649.9–14

NOTES

(i) The genitive of the definite article was used in AG with an infinitive to express purpose, and though LMedG/EMG normally substitutes νά + subjunctive for the infinitive, as above, there are some examples of the infinitival construction from LMedG texts:

ἐκεῖσε ἡμπλικεύσασι τοῦ μή φανερωθῆναι 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G II.102
συνέδραμον ἐκεῖ ὅλοι τοῦ βοηθῆσαι 16th c./14th c., *Velis.* p 316

(ii) In LMedG texts a purpose clause may also be realized by means of διὰ "for" (also πρὸς "towards" and εἰς "(in)to") + a νά-clause nominalized with the accusative of the definite article (see also 3.8):

τὸ κατοῦδιν ... στήσας εἰς τὸ τραπέζιν, διὰ τὸ νά εἰποῦν ὅτι ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖνο τὴν
ζημίαν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 264–5

(iii) Relative clauses may be given a final sense ("[someone] to do X/who can do X") through the use of future/modal forms (cf. 5.5):

εἶχασιν δὲ καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν, ὁποῦ νά τοὺς τὰ λέγῃ, τὴν μαῖμου
15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 36–7

(iv) Given the inherent sequencing of the events denoted by main and final clauses, something of the effect of a final clause may be achieved through coordination with καὶ; this is particularly common when the purpose is fulfilled and with verbs of "coming" and "going" (cf. *s/he went and did X*):

τὸ πράγμα σου ἀσφάλιζε καὶ τὸν γείτονά σου κλέπτῃν μὴν τὸν κάμης
16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 55

ὡσάν ἦλθαν καὶ τὸν ἐπροσκύνησαν, λέγει 16th c., *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 75.18–21
 ἦνρε καιρὸ ὁ σουλτάν Μπαγιαζίτης καὶ τοὺς ἐζήτησε τὸ κάστρο 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.10–13
 ἐπήγασιν καὶ ἐχτίσασιν σπίτια στὰ τριγύρω νησόπουλα 18th c., *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 19.7–8

- (v) In 16th- and 17th-c. Cretan literary texts *πά* often represents a reduction of *πάω* “go”, cf. *θά* < *θέ(λω)* + *νά*, *μπορά* < *μπορ(ῶ)* + *νά*, etc. It is sometimes difficult to decide between a literal meaning and a more evolved future/modal function for *πά*, but the ultimate origins of *πά νά* as a kind of final clause (“go to do X”, “go and do X”) are clear:

ἀποὺ τὰ χεῖλη του θέλω νὰ πα γροικῆσω ἂν ἔχει πόνον 17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.45–6
 ὀμπλεγάρεται ... νὰ πα τὸ ξανακαμπανίσου στοῦ ἄνωθεν 1609, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 626, 547.15
 θὲς νὰ πα φέρω ἓνα σκοινί, σφιχτὰ νὰ τόνε δέσης; 17th c., *FOSKOLOS, Fort.* IV.289
 κι ὅς κάμουν ὅ,τι λέγουσι, μὴν (μ)πα καὶ γελαστοῦσι 17th–18th c./17th c., *Alfan.* 11 42 app. crit.

- (vi) The conjunction *μήνα* (also used adverbially = “perhaps”/“by any chance” in direct questions, see 1.4.1, Rule (17)) may be used in place of simple *μή(ν)*, particularly when the sense required is not negative purpose but the more positive “(just) in case”, “in the hope that”:

ὀρμησα ... τὸ νὰ γενῶ τσαγγάρης, μήνα χορτάσω τὸ ψωμὶν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 145–6
 τάχατε κλεῖ τὰ μάτια του, μήνα τὸν ἐλθῃ ὕπνος 15th c., *Peri xen.* 25
 πολλὰ αὐτοὶ ἐπάσχισαν, μήνα τὸν ἐξεβγάλουν 16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 15 g
 ἐκοίταζα πολλὰ μήνα ἰδῶ καὶ ἄλλους ὅπου ἐγνώριζα 16th c., *PAPA-LAVR., Diigisis* (Meteoron) 109.26–7

- (vii) The element (*μ*)*πάς* (perhaps a reduction of *μὴν* + an invariant form of *πάω* “go” with adverbial -ς (rather than the unmotivated 2 sg. *πάς*)) is used similarly in Cyprus in combination with *καί*; a following *νά* is optional. The sense “(just) in case” allows for considerable overlap with complements of verbs of “fearing” and “precaution” (see 2.3, Rule (30)):

μὲ φόβον στέκω ... φοβῶντα πάντα πάς καὶ βαρεθῆς με· τα πάθη βιάζουν πάς καὶ λυπηθῆς με 16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 91.11–13
 ὁ ρήγας ... ἐδιαλογίζετον πάς καὶ ἡ ρήγαινα κομπωθῇ καὶ πᾶσιν καὶ πάρουν τὴν Κερυνίαν 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 408.1
 τοῦ ᾗ γραφεν γραφάδες ..., πάς καὶ νὰ κάμῃ νὰ σαστῇ τοῦ χαζανᾶ ἡ λίτῃ 17th–18th c./17th c., *KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko* 84–6

3.2 Consecutive (Result) Clauses

- (33) When the result described in a consecutive clause is presented as an event in real time, it is introduced by *ὅτι* “that” + indicative or, from ca. 15th c., by “factive” (ὁ)πού + indicative (both with negative οὐ(κ)/οὐδέν); when the result is presented as potential or logical rather than actual, consecutive clauses contain a future/modal verb form marked by *νά* + subjunctive (imperfective or perfective, with negative *μή(ν)*), later preceded optionally by *ὅτι* or (ὁ)πού.

A clause specifying the result of an action or state of affairs described in a main clause is always in principle optional, but if the main clause contains an element modified by a specifier meaning “so”/“such”, some result is at least strongly anticipated if not actually compulsory, cf. ... *so X [that Y]*.

With *ὅτι* + Indicative

ἐγίνετον ὁ φόβος τοιούτως πολὺς, ὅτι οἱ χριστιανοὶ ... ἐξοδῶκαν ἀπὲ τοὺς οἴκους των 1326, Cyprus, *DARROUZÈS* 1953: 41, 93.10–12
 τόσα τὸν ἀγαπήσασιν ... ὅτι βουλὴν ἀπήρασιν οἱ φρονιμώτεροί τους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2101–3
 τόσον ἔγινε ἀπὸ τὴν μυθολογίαν ἐνδοξος ὅτι ὑπερέβη πάντας τοὺς σοφοὺς καὶ διδασκάλους 16th c., *Vios Aisop.* K 147.4–5
 τί εἶναι ἐτούτῃ ἡ σοφία ὅπου τοῦ ἐδώθη, ὅτι καὶ τέτοιας λογῆς δυνάμεις γίνονται διὰ τῶν χειρῶν του; 17th c., *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath.* Mark. 6.2

With (ὁ)πού + Indicative

ἔμαθαν τὸν ὀρισμὸν ἐκεῖνον, τόσον σκληρὸν κι ὠμότατον πού ποτέ οὐκ ἐφάνη 15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* II.14.4–5 (1529)
 τὴν ὥραν ἐκεῖνην ... ἔβρεξεν εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον ὅπου πούπετες δὲν εἶχεν μείνει ὅπου νὰ μὴν βρέξει 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 333.23–5
 εἶδα δυὸ κομμάτια κριάς ..., τόσα παχιά, τόσα καλὰ, τόσα πολλὰ μεγάλα, π' ὅλος ἐξαναστάθηκα 17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.85–7
 ἓνας θρῆνος γίνεται εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μοναστήρι ὅπου ὅποιος τὰς ἰδεῖ κλαίει τὴν λύπην των 1615, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 6, 175.30–1
 ἔπεμψε παντόθες νὰ τὸν γυρεύῃ ὅπου ἡμπορεῖ νὰ εἰπῇ τινὰς πὼς δὲν ἄφηκε πέτρα ἀγύρευτην 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 33.14–16
 ἐγίνεκε ταραχὴ μεγάλη καὶ πόλεμος φοβερός, πού ἐγέμωσε ὁ κάμπος ἀπὸ κουφάρια 18th c., *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 33.24–6

With *νά* + Subjunctive

οὐδὲν εὐρίσκω εἰς ἐμὲν ... τοσοῦτην ἀδιάκρισιν, νὰ μὴ τὸ ἐγνωρίζω ὅτι εἰς τὸ κουμοῦ τῆς Βενετίας ἐξέβησαν ἄνθρωποι γνώσεως μεγάλης 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 948–51
 ἀλλὰ τινὰς οὐκ ἔφτασεν ποτέ του εἰς τόσην δόξαν, τὸ στέμμα τὸ βασιλικὸν νὰ τοῦ τὸ ἔχουν φορέσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 952–3

θέλεις ἐβγῆν εἰς ὄρεινόν λιβάδιν τέτοιον μέγα νὰ ἐγγίζη ἀπάνω εἰς οὐρανόν ... ἡ
 κορυφή του 14th c., *Log. parig.* L 133-4
 λέγε μου ... πῶς ἐπλανέθηκες τέτοιας λογῆς νὰ προτιμᾷς ... ἐκεῖνα ὅπου δὲν θεωρεῖς
 ἀπὸ ἐκεῖνα ὅπου θεωροῦμεν φανερά 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.20-1

With ὅτι νά + Subjunctive

ἀποκεῖς ἐβγάλ' το ἀπὸ τῆ φωτιά καὶ βάνεις τὸ κακκάβι ... τόσο ὅτι τὸ νερὸ νὰ μὴν
ἡμπορῇ νὰ πάη ὀξω 15th-16th c., Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.24-5

With (ὁ)πού νά + Subjunctive

καὶ ἓνα σκαρπέλλο τόσο μακρὸ ὅπου ν' ἀβαντζάρη ὀξω ἀπὸ τὴν μποῦκα τοῦ
 κομματιοῦ 15th-16th c., Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.2-3
 παρακαλῶ τὴν ἀφεντία σου νὰ κατιβάσης τὰ πρέτζια διὰ νὰ πουλοῦμε (τὰ βιβλία)
 ..., πού νὰ μὴ μᾶς ἀπομνίσκουν καὶ γένουνται μπατάλικά
 1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 10, 308, f.2r.28-32

NOTES

- (i) In earlier texts and in less formal styles the consecutive clause may appear without future/modal νά or any overt conjunction:

οὐκ ἦτον τόσος ὁ λαὸς τὰ πλευτικά γεμίσουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 407
 καὶ τόσα ἐβιάστησαν πολλὰ ἐσυμβιβάσανέ τους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3312
 τόσα ἐπλευσαν, τόσα ἐποικαν, φθάνουν τὴν Σαλαμῖναν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1385

- (ii) In more learned styles the ancient conjunction ὥστε may be used with past indicatives in place of ὅτι/(ὁ)πού, and occasionally even with the ancient accusative + infinitive construction (but ὥστε νά + subjunctive is usually temporal, see 3.4); in later texts ὥστε appears also in combination with (ὁ)πού:

καὶ ὁ ἀνεμος τοιοῦτος μέγας ὥστε ἐριπτεν τὰ ἀνώγια ἀπάνω κάτω
 1326, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 41, 93.6-7
 σπαράττουσι τὰ μέλη του, κλονεῖται τὴν καρδίαν ὥστε νομίζειν καὶ τὴν γράν
ἀποθανεῖν ἐκεῖνον 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1161-2
 ἦτον παχὺς εἰς τὸ κορμί του ... ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ πάχους δὲν ἐφαινόντεσαν τὰ
 ἀρχῖδια αὐτοῦ 16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 116.10-14
 ἔπεσεν τόσον θανατικόν ὥστε ὅπου ἐμεῖς δὲν ἡμποροῦμεν νὰ θάπτομεν τοὺς
 νεκρούς 17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 6-7

- (iii) There is some formal overlap/confusion between consecutive and final clauses in that both look forward to events that follow the action of the main clause:

καὶ τόσα τοὺς ποτίσετε τοῦ νὰ ἐχουσιν μεθύσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8301

- (iv) From ca. 15th c. onwards coordination with καὶ is a common alternative to subordination given the inherent consequentiality of the two events:

ἐκεῖνος ἦτον τόσον κρουδέλ καὶ ἐρίσεν καὶ ἐσκοτώσαν τον
 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 18.7

καὶ ἄκου τὸ τί μοῦ ἐσύντυχεν κ' ἐθλίβην ἡ ψυχὴ μου 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nokr. Vas.* 28
 οἱ Ἰσραηλίται ἠβλέπουν τόσο πολὺ φουσάτο καὶ φοβοῦνται καὶ δίδουν τὸν
 Σαφῶν δεμένον τῶν ἐχθρῶν 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 278.33-4
 ἔπαρε ἀγριάγγουρα ... καὶ τὰ σφίγγεις καὶ πηδᾷ ἔξω τὸ ζουμί καὶ ὁ σπόρος τους
 17th c., LANDOS, *Geopon.* 237.4-6

3.3 Conditional Clauses

- (34) Conditional clauses (protases) are introduced by (ἐ)άν “if”, ἀνέναι “if it is the case that”, ἀνίσως “if by chance”, ἂν πολλακίς “if ever/by chance”, with negative οὐ(κ)/οὐδέν; εἰ “if” is also used in older texts as well as in more formal styles. “Unless” is rendered by means of πλὴν ἂν, ἔξω ἂν or ἀλλέως καί (no conjunction); “even if” by καὶ ἂν/ἄς, or ἀνέναι καί/ἀνίσως καί, πλὴν (κ)ἂν (but see also concessive clauses, 3.6).

When a conditional conjunction is present, νά is hardly ever used to mark future/modal or conditional verb forms; but the conditional conjunction may be omitted and the relevant forms *must* then be marked with νά (negative μὴ(ν)).

In LMedG/EMG both tense and aspect are important in determining the time reference of a conditional sentence as well as its reading as specific or generic (see below for details). Any meaningful pairing of forms/tenses is possible in the protasis and apodosis (main clause), but the event described in the protasis can never follow that of the apodosis.

With time εἶχον/εἶχα + aorist infinitive is confined increasingly to protases, where it starts to evolve into a pluperfect, first through reinterpretation as a form marking the *logical* priority of the events described in hypothetical/counterfactual protases and then, through a natural extension, as marking *temporal* priority vis-à-vis other past events, thus allowing its use in other subordinate clauses and also in main clauses. The development proceeds at different speeds in different areas, depending in part on whether the pluperfect formed with εἶχον/εἶχα + perfect passive participle is in use. In the 14th-c. *Chronicle of Morea*, for example, the εἶχα-periphrasis appears only in counterfactual protases in past time and is already used as a true pluperfect. By contrast, in 16th/17th-c. Crete, where participial pluperfects are the norm, it is still used only in subordinate clauses for which a meaning “would (have)” is possible, whether in a hypothetical or (secondary) habitual sense.

The examples below are organized according to the time-reference of the protasis/conditional clause, as determined by its overall context (but since conditional forms may be used to refer to past, present or future, there is often indeterminacy).

3.3.1 Future/Generic Time Reference

Subjunctives (possible events) or past indicatives/conditionals (hypothetical events) may appear in the protasis (see 1.2.2 for further details of the forms involved).

There is a fairly strong correlation between perfective forms in apodoses and specific readings of the whole, imperfective forms in apodoses and generic readings of the whole

(though perfective νά-futures are often generic and imperfects used as conditionals are aspectually neutral, cf. Chapter 1, Rule (11) and NOTES).

3.3.1.1 Subjunctive in Protasis

Future/Specific

ἂν με λάχη θάνατος, νὰ με λαζαρώσουν ὥσπερ τοὺς ὅλους καλογέρους
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.52–82.53

εἰ μὲν εὐροῦν ὅτι ζητεῖ ... τὸ κάστρον τῆς Καρύταινας ..., νὰ τοῦ <τὴν> δώσῃ τὴν νομὴν καὶ νὰ τὸν ρεβεστήσῃ
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8143–5

ἂν στραφῇ εἰς τὴν Φραγκίαν, ἂν οὐδὲν ποιήσῃ ἔργον νὰ μείνῃ εἰς τὴν Ρωμανίαν ..., ὅλοι τὸν θέλουσι γεῶν, μέμφεσται καὶ ὄνειδίζει
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8183–5

βαρὺν με ἤθελε φανῇ, ἂν εὐρω ὅτι ἀργεῖτε
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1419

ἂν ἐγὼ ἀποθάνω, εὐρεῖ θέλει ἡ βασιλεία σου ἄλλον ἀντὶ τοῦ Φιλόνην· εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνῃς ἐσὺ, ἐγὼ ἄλλον βασιλεῖα Ἀλέξανδρον οὐδὲν θέλω εὐρεῖν
16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 26.16–18 (Konstantinopolos)

ἂν ἴσως καὶ εἰπῶ πὼς εἶσαι ἀμάθητος τοῦ καλοῦ, καλὰ τὸ θέλω εἰπεῖ
17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 35.31–2

Generic

ἂν εὐρουν εἰς κατώφορον ψυχὴν ἀναγκασμένην, ἐκεῖ περισυνάγονται καὶ πολεμοῦν τὴν πνίξειν
13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 187–8

ὁ Θεὸς ἐλευθερώσῃ σε, καὶ ὅς εἶσαι ψωμοζήτητος
13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoï* 216

πλὴν κἂν αὐτὸς ἐλησμονῇ, πλὴν κἂν αὐτὸς νυστάζῃ, ἐγὼ πονῶ καὶ ἐγὼ ἀγρυπνῶ καὶ ἐγὼ νὰ σ' ἐνθυμίσω
15th c./12th c., *Ptoch. (Maiuri)* 10–11

στὴν ἐκκλησίᾳ τοὺς ἐὰν συμβῇ Φράγκος νὰ λειτουργήσῃ, σαράντα ἡμέρες λείπεται ἀψαλτὴ ἡ ἐκκλησιά τους
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 767–8

ἐχτρὸν τὸν ἔχω τοῦ Χριστοῦ, νὰ μὴ με σφάξῃ εὐθέως
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4756

καὶ πολλάκις ἂν τοὺς τὸ εἴπωσι, νὰ μὴδὲν κάθωνται
1465, Rome, *LAMBROS* 1930: 287.21, 1

3.3.1.2 Past Indicative/Conditional in Protasis

Future/Specific

καὶ ἂν ἤθελα θανατωθῇ, τὴν κόρην δὲν ἀφήνω
15th–16th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* α 2960 app. crit. (N)

ἂν ἤθελα λεπτῶς νὰ σέ τὰ ἔγραψα ὅλα ..., ... πολλὰ ἠθέλαν βαρεθῇ ἐκεῖνοι ὅπου τὸ ἀκοῦσιν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2816–18

ἤθελεν ποιήσῃ ψυχικὸν καὶ ἔπαινόν του μέγαν, νὰ ὑπάντρεψῃ τὴν ντάμα Ζαμπέα με ἓναν καβαλλάρην
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8531–2

εἰς τέτοιον λογισμόν ἂν ἤμουν ὅλη μέρα ἤθελα σκάσει στέκοντα σὰ σύκον ἢ πεπόνι
16th c./15th c., *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 258–9

Generic

πολλάκις δὲ ὁ πρίγκιπας νὰ ἦτον εἰς ἄλλον τόπον καὶ νὰ ἤθελεν νὰ ἐβαλλεν ὀκάπιο ἄλλον ..., οὐδὲν χρεωστοῦν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ... νὰ ποιήσουν ἄλλου γὰρ τινὸς ὁμάτιον
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7896–900

ἀμπολλάκις καὶ δὲν ἤθελαν τὸ δουλεύουν καλὰ ..., νὰ ἤμπορῃ νὰ τοὺς ἐβγάνη ἀπὸ τὸ ἄνωθεν δίχως λόγου καὶ κρίσεως
1573, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001a: 2, 21.10–11

ἂν ἴσως κ' ... δὲν ἤθελεν ἔχει χρεῖα ἐκεῖνος ... καὶ ἤθελεν θέλει νὰ τὴνέ (ἀγελέα) πακτώσει, νὰ μὴ μπορᾷ τὴνέ δώσει ἄλλονοῦ
1599, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 57, 77.9–11

ἂν ἐφρονέψασι καὶ αὐτοὶ ν' ἀλλάξουσιν δαμάκι, τσί κορασὲς δεῖν ἤθελες νὰ πιούσινε φαρμάκι
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.443–4

3.3.2 Present Time Reference

Present indicatives (potentially real events) or imperfect indicatives/conditionals (hypothetical/counterfactual events) may appear in protases, where there is a strong correlation between present time reference and imperfective aspect.

3.3.2.1 Present Indicative in Protasis

ἔὰν ὁ πατὴρ ὑπάρχει δαιμονiάριος, ὁ πάππος δύναται συναινεῖν τῷ γάμῳ, διότις ὁ υἱὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐρρωμένος τὸν νοῦν
ca. 1300, Cyprus, *MARUHN* 1981: 239.414

ἂν ἔχεις ἀπλαζίριν, ὅς πᾶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι νὰ μας ποίσουν τόπον, διὰ νὰ σοῦ συντύχω!
16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 8.12–13

ἂ θῆς νὰ γιάνω, ἀφέντη μου, ἔλα μοῦ τ' ἀγοράσης!
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III. 92

ἂν ἔν' καὶ λέγω ψέματα, ὅλοι με πέτε 'κτῆμα'
16th c., *Kakop.* 14

μίσσεψε, Ἀλέξη, πρὶ σέ δῆ, ἀνέναι καὶ ἀγαπᾷς με
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.241

3.3.2.2 Imperfect/Conditional in Protasis

ἂν οὐ σέ γάπουν τὰ πολλὰ, τώρα σκοτώσει σέ 'χα
15th–16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 1571

ἂν ἦτον καὶ νὰ μπόρει τὸν ὕπνον νὰ κοιμᾷτον ἀλησμονήσειν ἤθελεν ὀλίγον ἐκ τὴν λύπην
15th c., *Peri xen.* 23

ἂν τὸ ἔευρα ἀληθινά, ἐπηγαίνα καὶ ἐσκοτώννα τὸν μισερ Ἀντρίαν
16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 42.17–18

σαράντ' ἁγίους καὶ ἂν ἔκραζες με πόθο νὰ γυρεύης, τὲς λειτουργιῆς σου χάνεις τες,
μὰ μένα δὲν μοῦ φεύγεις 16th c., *Alfan.* 10 71–2

ἂν ἠθέλαμεν κοιμᾶσθαι ... ἠθέλαμεν εἰπεῖν ὅτι δνειρον ἐθεωρούσαμεν
17th c., *Vios Aisop.* I 269, 37–8

ἂν εἶχα ἑκατὸ γλῶσσες καὶ νᾶχα ἑκατὸ στόματα ... τὰ χεῖλη δὲν μποροῦσι παρὰ
ποῦ ν' ἀποφρίζουνε 17th–18th c./17th c., *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 65–8

ἂν ἐμποροῦσαν θάνατο ἐθέλασι μοῦ δώσει 17th–18th c./17th c., *Stathis Prol.* 4

3.3.3 Past Time Reference

Past indicatives (denoting both potentially real and hypothetical/counterfactual events) and conditionals (hypothetical/counterfactual events) may be used in protases.

Protases containing past indicatives referring to the past are fairly uncommon, and tend to have progressive or generic readings marked by imperfective aspect; but the aorist may also be used in generics if there is contextual support such as a co-occurring adverb like ποτέ "ever".

3.3.3.1 Past Indicative in Protasis

Real (Progressive/Generic)

αὐτὴ καὶ ἂν ἐμαραίνετον, ἐλαμπεν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 183

ποτέ ἂν ἐσυνεπλάκη ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους μου ... εἰς τέτοιαν ... ἀνάμνησιν
ἀγάπης, πολλὰ τὸν ἐκατεπίκραινα, χίλια τὸν ἐμεμφόμην
15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* α 125–8

οἶος καὶ ἂν εὐρίσκετον, μαντατοφόρος νὰ ἦτον, τινὰς οὐδὲν τὸν ἐκαμνεν ἐμπόδιον
καθόλου 16th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1395–6 (ms B)

ἀπὸ τοῦτα τὰ μῆλα τινὰς δὲν ἠμπόρειε νὰ πάρει ἀπ' αὐτὰ ἂν δὲν ἦτονε παρθένος καὶ
καθαρός 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 335.38–9

Counterfactual

ἂν οὐκ ἐθάρρεις κολυμβᾶν, κολυμβητὴς μὴ ἐγένου, ἀλλ' ᾗς ἐκάθου σιγηρὸς ..., καὶ ᾗς
ἐκνηθες τὴν λέπραν σου, καὶ ᾗς ἤφηνες ἐμένας 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 103–5

καταβλαττάς ἂν ἐμαθον καὶ σηκωτὴς ἂν ἦμουν, ὡς σηκωτὴς νὰ ἐδοῦλευα τὴν
ἄπασαν ἡμέραν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 181–2

ἂν οὐδὲν ἦτον ἡ θάλασσα, ἀκόμη εἶχε ὑπαγαίνειν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 260

τούς πόνους ἂν ἐσύναξαν ὅλους τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ... καὶ εἰς ἄλλον μέρος νὰ ἔβαναν
πόνους τῆς ξενιτείας, πλεόν τῶν ἄλλων ἐβάρυναν πόνοι τῆς ξενιτείας
15th c., *Alf. Xen.* B 99–102

Μαρ. ἐγὼ τὸν εἶχουνα ἂν ἐκεῖνος δὲν εἶχεν φάγει. Ἑρμ. ... καὶ πῶς τὸν ἠθελες ἔχει ἂν
δὲν ἔτρωγεν ἐκεῖνος; 17th c., *Bertoldin.* 96.19–22

3.3.3.2 Conditional in Protasis

εἰ δὲ κομπῶσειν ἠθελες ..., ᾗς ἔλαβες ὁμοίαν σου, καπήλου θυγατέραν
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 106–7

ἐκεῖνοι ἂν σε εἶχαν εὐρεῖ, Συρίαν οὐκ ἐθεώρεις 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 141

ἂν εἶχε ἐπάρει ὁ πρίγκιπας τότε τὸν Μέγαν Κύρην καὶ τὰ φουσσᾶτα τῶν νησίων
... καὶ νὰ εἶχε ὑπάγει σπουδαχτικά ὁλόρθα εἰς τὸ Νίκλι ... ὁ Μέγας ὁ Δεμέστικος
ἀργὰ νὰ ἐφουσσατέψεν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4876–80

ἂν εἶχαν ποίσειν τὰ καρτζὰ ἀσημένα, ἠθελα εἶσταιν τόσα φτενά ὅτι ἠθέλαν
καταλυέσθαι γλήγορα 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 76.18–19

ἂν εἶχαν ἔχει κάτεργα, ... ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου ἐφεύγασιν ..., ἠθέλασιν προτιμηθῇ
σύντομα νὰ μισεύσουν 16th c./15th c., *Velis.* p 325–8

Μαρ. Ἐγὼ τὸν εἶχουνα ἂν ἐκεῖνος δὲν εἶχεν φάγει. Ἑρμ. ... καὶ πῶς τὸν ἠθελες ἔχει
ἂν δὲν ἔτρωγεν ἐκεῖνος; 17th c., *Bertoldin.* 96.19–22

ἀνίσως καὶ ὁ ἀγὰς του δὲν τὸν ἠθελε κράξει, δὲν ἠθελαν ἠμπορέσει οἱ ἀκτῖνες τοῦ
ἡλίου νὰ τὸν ξυπνήσουν 18th c., *Don Kis.* 48.8–10

NOTES

- (i) In texts composed wholly or partly in higher registers certain ancient options may be used:

ἂν as an apodotic particle with counterfactual past indicatives (and conditional periphrases):

εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἐτύχομεν, οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο συνέβη, οὐκ ἂν εἰς οἶκον μὰς ποτε εἶχετε
πορευθῆναι 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G I.274–5

negative μή rather than οὐ(κ) in protases:

ἂν οὖν μὴ φθάσῃ με τὸ σὸν φιλεύσπλαγχνον, αὐτάναξ, καὶ δώροις καὶ χαρίσμασι
τὴν ἀπληστον ἐμπλήσης, τρέμω, πτοοῦμαι, δέδοικα μὴ φονευθῶ πρὸ ὥρας, καὶ
χάσης σου τὸν Πρόδρομον 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 271–4

(Note the accumulation of "high" features in this address to the emperor, e.g. datives, genitive after a preposition, obsolete vocabulary.)

- (ii) When the main clause expresses hope/anticipation ἀνέν(αι) καὶ can be used in a postposed subordinate clause, "in hope"/"in case":

ἐμπρὸς-ὀπίσω γύρισα, ... ἂν ἔν καὶ εὐρῶ πούπετε τόπον ν' ἀποκουμπήσω
16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 13–14

Μήπως is used similarly when the main clause expresses precaution/prevention, "lest/in case":

μηδὲν δώσης πληξὶν τοῦ πληξημένου μήπως πιπέσῃ εἰς δισπιριά
16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 99.24–5

μὰ πὲς μου πῶς ἐπέρασε τὸ πράμα, μήπως κι' ἔχει δίκιο
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.63–4

δέομαι ... νὰ ἔχω συγχώρησιν ... μήπως εὐρῇ με ὁ θάνατος
1622, ?Karpathos, *ZERLENDIS* 1918d: B, 300.17–20

3.4 Temporal Clauses

(35) Temporal clauses add information about eventualities that take place before, at the same time as, or after the event described in the main clause, and contain past/present indicative or future/modal verb forms as required by the sense.

Clauses denoting past-time situations *preceding* a past-time main clause (i.e. with conjunctions meaning "when", "after", "since", "as soon as") normally contain aorist (past perfective) indicatives whether the situation described is a single event or a series of habitual/repeated events; towards the end of the period of this Grammar, however, an imperfect (past imperfective) indicative may be substituted in the latter function. Those denoting non-past (present/future/generic) situations preceding a non-past main clause typically contain perfective (aorist) subjunctives to represent both single and repeated events, though present indicatives may sometimes appear when the meaning is habitual/progressive. Typical LMedG/EMG conjunctions of this type are:

"(at the point in time) when"

ὡσάν, σάν, ὡς; ὅτε, ὅταν, ὁπότα(ν); ὄντε, ὄντα(ν), ἄνταν

"after", "since (the time when)"

ἀφοῦ, ἀφότου; ἀφόν, ἀφó(ν)τις; ἀπώς, ἀπότις, ἀπόντας; ἀπείς, ἀπείτις

"as soon as"

μόλις, ἄμα, ὅσον, εὐθύς ὁπού, τόμου (< τὸ ὁμοῦ) νά, μοναῦτα καί

Clauses denoting past-time situations *overlapping* with a past-time main clause (i.e. with conjunctions meaning "while", "as long as") normally contain imperfect indicatives. Those denoting non-past situations overlapping with a non-past main clause contain present indicatives or imperfective/present subjunctives: since certain conjunctions do not allow/require subjunctives to be marked with νά (see below) it is often difficult or impossible to distinguish the two. Typical LMedG/EMG conjunctions of this type are:

"(during the time) when"

ὡσάν/σάν, ὡς, ὡς που, ὡς ποτε, ὡς ὅτι, ὡς ὅτε, ὡς ὁπότα(ν), ὥστε; ὄντε, ὄντα(ν), ἄνταν

"while", "as long as"

ἐνῶ, ἐνόςω; ἔστα(ν), ἔστοντας; ἔως (οὔ, ὁπού/πού, ὅτου, νά)

"as long as"

ὅσον

Situations *following* those described in past or non-past main clauses are necessarily prospective/theoretical relative to those main-clause events. Clauses describing these are normally introduced by conjunctions meaning "before"/"until" and contain subjunctives (mostly perfective/aorist); but since in past-time contexts the relevant actions eventually take place, a past-tense indicative is sometimes substituted in *until*-clauses, though not in *before*-clauses. Typical LMedG/EMG conjunctions of this type are:

"until"

ὡς (πού/ῥπου, ὅτι, ὅτε), ὥστε (πού/ῥπου); ἔσαν(ε); ἔως (οὔ, ὁπού/πού, ὅτου, νά); ὅσον

"before"

πρίν, πρὸ μή(ν), προτοῦ, ὁμπρὸς παρά, πρίχου

The *until*-group of conjunctions normally require subjunctive forms to be marked with νά, the *before*-group allow νά optionally; by contrast, the *when*- and *after/since*-groups regularly appear with "bare" subjunctives. Membership of the *while/as long as*-group is largely drawn from the *when*- and *until*-groups and individual conjunctions behave accordingly, with those belonging to both sets allowing both options.

3.4.1 Past-time Temporal Clauses Denoting Preceding/Overlapping Events

3.4.1.1 Preceding the Event Described in the Main Clause

"When/after/as soon as" + Aorist Indicative

ἐγὼ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πολλὰ ἤντεστάθην, ὅταν τὸ ἤκουσα

12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.5-6

καὶ ἄμα τὸν εἶδα, εἶπα τον, οὐδὲ ἐχαιρέτησά τον

15th c./13th-14th c., *Liv* E 579

ἀφότου ἐκατόρθωσεν ὅσα σᾶς ἀφηγοῦμαι ... τὸ πνεῦμα του ἐπαρέδωκεν κι ἀπῆραν
το οἱ ἀγγέλοι

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7801-4

ὅσον ἀποσωρεύτησαν μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι, ἀνοῖξαν τὰ προστάγματα καὶ
ἀναγνώσανέ τα

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7856-7

ὄντα τὴν ἐγόρασαν ὁ αὐτὸς ρὲ Οὐνγκε τὴν Κύπρον ... ἦτον εἰς μεγάλην ἔννοιαν

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.4-9

ἀφόν ἐφάγαν καὶ ἐπαρδιαβάσαν, ἐκατέβησαν κάτω εἰς τὴν αὐλήν

16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 44.9

σάν ἐμίσεψε ἀπὸ κεῖ ..., κιαμιᾶς λογῆς ἀνάπαψη δὲν ἡῦρικεν ἡ κόρη

18th c./16th-17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.13-14

ὡσάν ἀπέρασαν ἡ πρώτη ἡλικία τοῦ παιδός, τὸν πέμπει νά κατοικᾷ ἐκεῖ

17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.33-5

Very occasionally the aorist indicative is used to indicate repeated events, though the imperfect indicative (overtly marking the incompleteness of the series) is the more regular choice in this function in the period covered by this Grammar:

Aorist

ὃν ἔναιν καὶ ῥαθύμηνεν, ἔπεφτεν εἰς τὰ ἄνθη

15th c./14th-15th c., *Achil.* L 525

Though the conjunction here is formally conditional, the sense is clearly "whenever".

Imperfect

χαράν μεγάλην εἶχασι διὰ νά ἔχουν πολεμήσει, ἐπεὶ, ὅταν δὲν τοὺς ἀφηνε νά ὑπᾶν
νά πολεμήσουν, μεγάλην θλίψιν εἶχασιν, ἦσαν ὡσάν χαμένοι

16th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 9200-2

- καὶ ὅταν τὸ (χρυσὸν δέντρον) ἔκρουεν ὁ ἄνεμος, ἔμπορφα ἐτραγούδειεν
15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 536
- ὅταν ἐλειτοῦργαν, ἐσυνλειτοῦργάν του οὐράνιος ἄγγελος 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 366
- ὁπότεν ἐμίλουνε, ἐφαινόνησαν σὰν τόσα τσουκάλια ὅπου νὰ ἔβραζαν
17th c., *Bertoldos* 6.11
- δὲν ἄφηνεν κανέναν νὰ εἶναι πόρνος ... διότι, τόμου νὰ ἀκούουνταν ποθὲς φιλὸς
λόγος, αὐτὸς πάραυτα νὰ τὸν κράξει, νὰ τὸν μαλώσῃ
17th c., *PAPASYNAD., Chron.* I §29.40–2

NOTES

- (i) The pluperfect is occasionally used in later texts to emphasize anteriority:
καὶ ὅταν ὁ Θεὸς εἶχεν κάμει τὸν κόσμον εἶχαν πέσει (τὰ δαιμόνια) ἀπὸ τοὺς
οὐρανοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 335.28–30
- (ii) Since what follows may be caused by what precedes, conjunctions meaning “after/since (the time when)” may sometimes acquire the causal meaning of “since” (see also 3.5, NOTE (iv)):
ὀλίγοι ἄνθρωποι ἤμπορουν νὰ τὸ ἔχουσι φυλάττει (τὸ κάστρον), ἀφῶν ἔχει
σωτάρχισιν κ’ ἐνὶ ἀφρωμένον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8273–4
οὐλον τὸν κόσμον θρέφει τὸν τὸ θάρος κ’ ἐγὼ φότης ἐβίγλισα ἄχ τὸν Πόθον ...
ἔχασά το 16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 109.19–22
- (iii) The relative adverb (ἐκεῖ) ὅπου, lit. “(in the place) where”, is sometimes also used with a temporal/causal meaning “when/since”; this may carry a further nuance of contrast with what has preceded:
ἀφῶν ὁ πρίγκιπας ἄρχισε γὰρ τὴν μάχην ὅπου ὑπώμωσαμεν οἱ δύο ἀγάπην νὰ
κρατοῦμεν, ἐκεῖνος ἔχει τὴν ἀμαρτίαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4568–70
ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐκατέβαλα καὶ κατεσόφισα τὸν τὸν χοῖρον τὸν κακότυχον ..., ἐσένα τί
σὲ ἤθελα νὰ εἶσαι εἰς ἐντροπὴν μου 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 464–6
- (iv) Conversely, ἔστοντα(ς) καὶ and (in Cyprus) ἔστόντα καὶ οἱ ἔχοντα(ς) καὶ, lit. “it being the case”/“since”, may also have temporal uses (see also 3.5):
ἔχοντα καὶ ἡ Ἁγία Ἐλένη ἤρρεν τὸν τίμιον σταυρόν, ἔβαλέν τον εἰς ἕναν νεκρόν
17th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* R 67.23–5
ἔστόντα τάπισα καὶ ἐβγάλα τὸν ἔξω ἀπὸ τὸν πύργον, ὁ βασιλιάς ἐποῖκεν νὰ τὸν
μάθουσιν τὴν ἀγίαν πίστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ 16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 150.14–16
- (v) With ἔστοντα(ς) use of the aorist subjunctive to refer to the past as well as the non-past is normal, though not obligatory (see Note (iv)):
οἱ ὁποῖοι ἄρχοντες ἔδωσάν με πέντε πῆχες, ἐγὼ δὲ ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ ἔλθω ἀπὸ τὴν
καθολικὴν ..., ἦρρηκα πῆχες εἴκοσι πέντε 17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 41–4

Ἔστοντας as a conjunction with past indicatives is probably therefore a secondary development, the original structure being a tenseless absolute construction marked only for aspect, “given X’s performance of Y”.

3.4.1.2 Overlapping with the Event Described in the Main Clause

“When/while/as long as” + Imperfect Indicative

- αὐτός, ὄνταν ἐμάνθανεν, ὑπόδησιν οὐκ εἶχεν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 60 app. crit. (P)
- ἐνόσω εἰς μάχην ἔστεκον καὶ ἐμέριζαν τὴν νίκην, ἀφῆκαν τὸ νὰ μάχωνται καὶ εἰς ἕνα
λόγον ἦλθαν 16th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* S 1216–17 (Lambert-van der Kolf)
- ἰσιάστη μὲ τὴν πριγκίπισσαν ..., ἐνῶ ἐκράτει τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἀπ’ αὐτὴν κ’ ἦτον κυρὰ
του, κὶ ἀπῆρε τὴν θυγάτηρ της 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7980–2
- εἶχεν εἰς ἀβοερίαν αὐτοῦ τὸν Γγίον ντὲ λὰ Ρότζε ἔως οὐ ἔζη ἡ μητέρα του
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8043–4
- ὥς ἔστεκα κ’ ἐθώρουν τον, γυρίζει καὶ ὀμιλεῖ μου 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 27
- καὶ βασιλέως παιδὶν ἤμουν, ... καὶ ὄσον ἀνετρέφουμουν, ὑψώνασί με χρόνοι
16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 51–2
- ἐγὼ ὥσάν ἐκείτομουν εἰς τὸ κρεβάτι ἀσθενημένος ἀνοιξα τὰ μάτια μου καὶ ἔξαφνα
εἶδα ἕναν ἄνθρωπον 16th c., *PAPA-LAVR., Diigisis (Meteoron)* 107.14–15
- οὐδὲ ἔλειψεν αὐτὸ τὸ φῶς ἔως ὅτου ἔμενεν ἐκεῖ ἡ Θεοτόκος
16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 328.28–9
- ἡ Μαρκόλφα τὸν εἶδεν σὰν ἐγύριζεν ἀπὸ τὴν χώραν 17th c., *Bertoldin.* 141.32–142.1

NOTES

- (i) (ἐκεῖ) ὅπου, lit. “(in the place) where”, is also used with an “overlapping” temporal meaning, sometimes with a nuance of contrast, “whereas”:
καὶ ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐδέοντον τοῦ Θεοῦ νὰ δώσει βροχὴν, τοὺς ἔπεμψε χαλάζιν μεγάλον
καὶ φοβερόν 17th c., *Chron.* 1619 1149–50

3.4.2 Non-past Temporal Clauses Denoting Preceding/Overlapping Events

3.4.2.1 Preceding the Event Described in the Main Clause

“When/after/as soon as” + Aorist Subjunctive (single event or repeated events)

- ὅταν ὁ κόραξ πούποτε καθίσῃ καὶ φωνάξῃ, ἐκεῖ σημαίνει θάνατον καὶ χωρισμόν
ἄθροον 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 20–1
- τὸ δένδρον τὸ νεόφυτον ..., ἀφοῦ ψυγῇ παρὰ καιρόν, ἀφοῦ φυλλορροήσῃ, ... ἄλλο
ποτὲ οὐ βλαστήσῃ 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 223–5
- πλὴν ἀφ’ οὐ κάτω κατεβῆς ἐκ τ’ ὀρεινὸν ἐκεῖνο, ... θέλεις ἀκούειν ἀπὸ μακρὰ τῆς
Κακοδυστυχίας ἀνθρωποαναστενάγματα 14th c./13th c., *Log. parig.* L 145–8

- μοναῦτα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸ μας ὀρισμὸ περιλάβης, νὰ ποίσης ... διαλαλημὸ καὶ ὀρισμὸ
ἀπὲ τῇ μερίᾳ μας 1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.1–2
- δταν δώση τὸν κακὸν τοῦ θάνατον ὁ Ἡρώδης, τότες νὰ σκοτώσῃ ὅλους τοὺς
πρώτους 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 337.7–9
- κάθᾳ ὄντ᾽ ἐρθῇ καράβι, ἐρχεται καὶ κάθεται καὶ κλαίει
1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 3, 169.4–5
- ὅποτε ἔρτης μὲ τὲς δύνάμεις ἐκεῖνες ... εἴμεσταν πρόθυμοι
1618, Mani, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 24, 270.9

“When/after/as soon as” + Present Indicative (habitual/repeated events)

- μόλις τοὺς δίδομεν ψωμίν, ... εὐθύς μὲ πᾶσαν προθυμίαν εὐρίσκονται δηνέρια
15th–16th c./15th c., BERTOS, *Eis evd. aion.* 63–8
- ἀπὸ τοῦτα τὰ δέντρα ἡμποροῦμεν νὰ εὐρίσκωμεν τὰ σύνορα, ὅποτε τὰ χαλάει τὸ
ποτάμι 1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 450.18
- παρακαλῶ τῇ πανιερότῃ σου νὰ μοῦ θυμᾶσαι ..., ὅποτα βρίσκεις πατσάτσο, νὰ μοῦ
πέβῃς γραφή 1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.6–7

NOTES

- (i) In more colloquial styles, clauses of this type occasionally lack an overt conjunction (in the manner of conditional clauses more generally, see 3.3). The subject is always omitted (i.e. understood as coreferential with that of the main verb) and the effect is rather like that of an infinitive marked for aspect but not for tense (see Rule (36)):

- πρόσεξε ..., νὰ σέβῃς εἰς τὸ κάστρον, πῶς στήκει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8214–15
“take note, on entering the castle, of how it is laid out”

3.4.2.2 Overlapping with the Event Described in the Main Clause

“When/while/as long as” + Present Indicative/Subjunctive

- καὶ ἂν θέλουν τρῶγειν οἱ δεκατρεῖς τοὺς δώδεκα μοδίους, ... τί τοὺς οὐ θάπτω ὥσὸτε
ζῶ καὶ φεύγω ἀπὸ τὴν Πόλιν ... ; 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* II 26.9–26.11 app. crit. (H)
- ὥς ποτε ζῆς, βεβαιώθησε καὶ γνώριζε ἀπ’ ἐμέναν, τῆς Τύχης τὸ κακόγνωμον οὐ θέλεις
ἀποφύγειν 14th c./13th c., *Log. parig.* L 100–1
- βουλὴν ἀπῆρα ... ποτὲ νὰ μὴ τὴν στρέψω ὥσὸτι στέκη ἡ ψυχὴ ἐπάνω εἰς
τὸ κορμί μου 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1410–13
- μὲ δάκρυα πάντα νὰ σὲ κλαίω, ἔστα νὰ ζῶ εἰς τὸν κόσμον
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 4274 app. crit. (X)
- λοιπὸν κι ἐσεῖς τὴν νιότη σας χαίρεσταν ὥστε ζεῖτε 16th c., *Kakop.* 185
- τὸ ἕτερον ἡμισὸν νὰ πάρῃ ἡ λεγομένη κερά Θεόκλητη, νὰ τὸ ἔχῃ ἕως ὅπου νὰ ζῇ
1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.23–4

- ὅμως εἶναι δύσκολον νὰ ἀποθάνῃ τινὰς χωρὶς νὰ ἐβγῇ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ, καὶ ὥστε νὰ εἶναι
ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ μέσα τοῦ δὲν εἶναι ἀποθαμένος 17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 165.15–17
- ὁ ποῖος ἀφέντης παπᾶς νὰ μπορῇ νὰ ἔχῃ τὰ μνημόσυνα καὶ τὰ συνθητικὰ ἑορτὰς ...,
ἕως νὰ μπορῇ νὰ ἱεουργᾷ στὸ ἄνωθεν μοναστήρι
1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 107, 122.11–13
- εἶναι πολλὰ ἀναπαμένον τὸ μοναστήρι ἀπὸ λόγου τοῦ, καὶ ὅσον ζεῖ δὲν θέλουν ...
ἄλλον 1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.41–3
- τὰ ἐξῆς νὰ στέκεται ἡ αὐτὴ ἀλλαξιά ὥστε ὁ ἥλιος φέγγει
1640, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 200, 168.20
- ὄντε ξημερώνει, ἄμε ὀμπροστὰς τοῦ βασιλέως 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 42.5–6
- τὸ πρᾶμα τοῦ νὰ εἶναι εἰς τὸ χέριν τῆς νὰ τὸ κρατῇ ... ὥσποτε ζεῖν
1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 181.12–14
- ὥς ὅποτα ζῶ νὰ γρικέται ἀνάμεσά μας καὶ τῶν ἐδυονῶ ὥς ὅποτα ζῶ καὶ
ἀποθάνοντάς μου νὰ ἔναι πάλι ἐδική τοῦ 1731, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1972: 18, 287.13

3.4.3 Past/Non-past Temporal Clauses Denoting Following Events

3.4.3.1 Containing Subjunctives

“Until” + Aorist Subjunctive (single event)

- οἱ Τοῦρκοι οὐδὲν ἀνάμειναν ἕως οὗ νὰ κατουνέψουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5260
- βούλεται νὰ ἔχῃ βάλλει φύλαξιν ... ἕως οὗ νὰ τὸ ἔχῃ ἐπάρει
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2899–900
- ῶμοσαν νὰ μὴ κοιμηθοῦν ἔστανε ἐξημερώσῃ 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 439 app. crit. (A)
- ὥς ἤκουσε ταῦτας τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, ἀργὸν πολλὰ τοῦ ἐφαίνετον, ἕως ὅτου νὰ
ὑποστρέψῃ ὀπίσω εἰς τὸ καράβιν τοῦ, νὰ ὑπάγῃ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1444–6
- ἐκεῖ τὴν ἔδοξεν τὸ νὰ κρυβῇ τὴν γραῖαν ἔστ’ ἂν νὰ ποίσῃ τὸ κακὸν
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1249–50
- κι οὐκ ἤθελον ν’ ἀφήσουσιν τοὺς Φράγκους νὰ περάσουν, ὅσον νὰ ἐκπληρώσουσιν
τὲς συμφωνίες ἐκεῖνες 16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 409–10
- ἔστάθην δυνατός, ὥσώσπου νὰ διαβῇ τὸ πρᾶμαν
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 10.4–5
- πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐσκότωσαν ἀπὸ τὸ φουσατόν, ὥσθε νὰ φθάσῃ ὁ πόλεμος τοῦ
Ἀλεξάνδρου 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 14.22–3 (Konstantinopolos)
- ἀποὺ τὸ ρέστος, ὥστε νὰ σώσου στὰ ὑπέρπυρα ρπα’, νὰ δώσουν ἐκείνων ὅπου τὴν
θέλου καλογερέψει καὶ μνημονευτεῖ καὶ θαφεῖ
1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 92, 108.17–18
- ὀπλεγάρεται ὁ λεγόμενος κυρ-Ἀντώνης νὰ τοῦ δίδῃ κρασί ... ἕως νὰ τοῦ δώσῃ τὰ
ὑπέρπυρα ρν’ 1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 256, 251.5–6

ἔτζι πάντα ἐδῶ ἐζήσαμεν εἰς εἰρήνην, ὥστε ποὺ ὁ ἐχθρὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νὰ σπείρῃ το
ζιζάνιο 1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.8–9
ἀποσφώνιαξέ την (σκίλλαν) καλὰ εἰς τὸ ξύδι, ἕως νὰ μὴν ἔχη πλέον τινὰ ὑγρότητα
17th c., LANDOS, *Geopon.* 187.25–6

εἶμαι δοῦλός σου, ὥς ὅπου νὰ ποθάνω
17th–18th c./17th c., KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 161

“Until” + Present Subjunctive (usually of future/modal auxiliaries, rarely progressive)

ἀφίνω νὰ ἔχη ὁ Δημήτριος τὴν διοίκησιν τοῦ ἀπὸ τὸ μοναστήριον ὥσὸτε νὰ θέλῃ
ἐξελθεῖν νὰ ὑπάγῃ εἰς τὸν αὐθέντην μου τὸν βασιλέαν
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.58–9

νὰ τὸ περιφυλάττῃ ... ἕως ὅπου νὰ ἔρχωνται πατέρες ἀπὸ τὴν ἄνωθεν μονήν
1660, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969j: 1, 140.10–12

“let him continue to keep it until priests are coming from the above monastery”

“Before” + Aorist Subjunctive (single event; more rarely repeated/generic)

πρὶν τὴν εὐρύης (τὴν τύχην), ἐχάσες την, πρὶν τὴν ἰδῆς, ὑπάγει
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 206

ἂν ἔπταισας, εἶπέ το, πρὶν σὲ καταδεσμήσωσι καὶ χάσῃς τὰ νερά σου
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 536–7

πρὶν τὸ πιάσω χάνεται καὶ φεύγει ἐκ τοῦ σκουτέλλιν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 242

ἦρταν ... εἰς τὴν Λευκουσίαν ἀπεζά, πρὶν νὰ ξημερώσῃ
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 16.9–10

καὶ ξεφορτώσου τὰ κακὰ, πρίχου νὰ σὲ φονεύσου 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 118

ὁμπρὸς παρὰ νὰ γεννηθῇ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐφάνησαν ἀπάνω εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τρεῖς ἡλιοὶ καὶ
τρία φεγγάρια 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 334.12–13

μίσεισε ... πρὶ σὲ δῆ 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.241

προτοῦ σώσῃ ἐκεῖ, τὸν εἶχε φθονήσει ἡ γυναῖκα τοῦ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ καὶ τὸν
ἔσκοτώσανε 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.29–31

πρὶν νὰ σώσῃ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ἦρε τζακισμένον τὸν Μπαγιαζίτη
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.32–3

NOTES

(i) In Cyprus *until*-conjunctions are sometimes used to mean “before”:

ἐξωδίασεν πεντακόχιε χιλιάδες ὀνομίσματα ὥς ποὺ νὰ τοὺς (γιούς) φέρῃ
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 76.13–14

“he had spent 500,000 bezants before he recovered his sons”

ὥς ποὺ νὰ φάγῃ ὁ Δημήτρις, ἔγραψεν ἡ ρήγαινα χαρτίν
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 412.5–6

“before Dimitris finished eating, the queen wrote a letter”

(ii) *πρὸ μή(ν) (νὰ)* is sometimes used when there is a nuance of “precaution” or “prevention”:

ἦρταν ὁ<μ>πρός, πρὸ μὴν ἔρτῃ τὸ καράβι μὴ τὰ ροῦχα τοὺς
1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 52.28–9

3.4.3.2 Containing Past Indicatives (in Past Time Only)

“Until”

ἦντεστάθην ..., ἕως οὗ ἐπόνεσα καὶ ἡῦρα τὰς θέας γραφὰς μαρτυροῦντας
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.5–7

ἀτὸς τοῦ ἐστάθηκεν ἐκεῖ ... ἕως οὗ καὶ ἐπληρώθηκεν τὸ κάστρον
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7999–8000

ἀφέντεψεν, ἀφ’ ὃν ἐστέφθην ὥς ποὺ καὶ ἐπέθανεν, λθ’ χρόνους
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 58, 60.36, 1–2

ἔτρεχα ὥστε κ’ ἐτσάκισε τὸ σταύρωμαν ἡ μέρα 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 12

οὐδὲν ἐλείψαν ἀποκεῖ, ὥστε ποὺ τελειώθῃ 16th c., Alex. Rim. 596

ἀνέμειναν ἕως ὅπου ἐφθασεν ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἐγέννησεν ἡ βασίλισσα
16th c., *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 75.26–7

ἐγὼ δὲν τὸ ἐπίστευα ὥστε ὅπου ἐπῆγα εἰς τὸν τίμιον σταυρόν
17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 61–2

3.4.4 Other Types of Temporal Clause

3.4.4.1 Nominalized Verb Forms

(36) A nominalized perfective/aorist infinitive or a nominalized finite clause containing an aorist subjunctive marked with *νὰ* may be used to mean “on [X] doing Y”, i.e. as broadly equivalent to a temporal clause introduced by a conjunction meaning “when”, “after”, “as soon as” but marked only for aspect (with perfective aspect naturally interpreted as denoting a preceding event).

The tenselessness of subjunctives in this construction follows directly from the inherent tenselessness of the infinitives for which they are substituted; both denote actions outside the temporal framework of this world and acquire a time reference secondarily, through their relation to the time of the event denoted by the main verb.

The subject position of an infinitive in this construction may be controlled by the subject of the main verb if the two elements are coreferential. Alternatively, the infinitive may have an overt nominative subject of its own, which may or may not be coreferential with the subject of the main verb. If the infinitival subject is coreferential with the main-clause subject, the latter is omitted (i.e. understood as having the content of the appropriate pronoun); if it is not coreferential, an overt subject is obligatory unless the verb is impersonal.

When a single nominative subject is placed between an infinitive and a main verb it is often impossible to decide which of the two verbs it properly belongs to.

τό + Infinitive

- εὐθύς τὸ ἰδεῖν ὁ Διγενής, τὴν κόρην συντυχαίνει 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 934
τὸ ἀκούσειν τὸ ὄνομα ὁ Χρόνος ἐκ τὸν ξένον, ὥσπερ ἐκράτει τὸ χαρτίν, γοργὸν τὸ
 ἀποτυλίσσει 14th c./13th–14th c., *Log. parig.* L 93–4
τὸ λάβει τὰ πιττάκια, ... ἀνοῖξαν τὰ προστάγματα καὶ ἀναγνώσανέ τα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7855–7
τὸ ἀκούσει ὁ Ροῦσος ντὲ Σουλῆ ..., εὐθέως ἐσυγκατέβηκεν κ' ἰσιάστησαν εἰς τοῦτο 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7927–8
τὸ ἰδεῖ τὸν ὁ μισὲρ Ντζεφρές, γλυκέα τὸν ἀποδέχτη 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8231
τὸ ἔλθει ἡ πρωτοστρατόρισσα, ὁ πρίγκιπας τῆς λέγει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7703
 καὶ τὸ ἰδεῖν ὁ βούβαλος ἐσέβη εἰς τὴν μέσην 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 1028
 ἐγὼ τὸ δεῖν ἐτρόμαξα 16th c./15th c., *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 53

τό + νά-clause

- τὸ νά τὸν ἰδῇ ὁ ἀμिरάς, πιάνει, καταφιλεῖ τὸν 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 594
τὸ ν' ἀργήσῃ λεῖ (ὁ πάγος) ..., καὶ χολλιάζονται τυφλοὶ καὶ θεραπεύονται 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 34.7–8
τὸ νά δεῖ ὁ φρε Γιλιάμ πὼς ἐλείψεν ὁ Περρῆς ..., ἐννοιάστην πὼς ἐπῆγεν νά ποίσῃ
 νώσῃ 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 58.17–18
τὸ νά ξημερώσῃ, ἦρτεν ὁ Φανῆς ... εἰς τὸ σπῖτιν τοῦ Τζωρτή 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 60.4–5
τὸ νά τὸ δῶ (τὸ λάφιν), τὸ δόξευα κ' εἶχα το σκοτωμένον 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 46
 ἔγραψε ὁ Ὀκτάβιος τοῦ Ἡρώδου ὅτι, παρευθὺς τὸ νά ἰδῇ τὸν ὀρισμὸν τοῦ, νά ἔλθῃ
 εἰς τὴν Ρώμην 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 341.27–9

NOTE

- (i) A few examples in later texts have aorist indicatives with or without νά. These appear to involve adaptations of the above in line with the form/sense of corresponding temporal clauses:

- τὸ{ν} νά τὸ ἐγέννησεν (τὸ παιδί), ἐστάθηκε ὀρθὸ εἰς τὰ ποδάρια τοῦ 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 335.6–7
τὸ ἤκουσε ὁ Ταμερλάνος, τοῦ ἑκακοφάνη πολλὰ ... νά παίρνῃ τὴν ἀφεντία τοῦς 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.10–12

3.4.4.2 Gerunds

- (37) A gerund (or an inflected participle) may perform the role of a temporal clause in describing situations that precede or overlap with the event described in the main clause; in the absence of a conjunction the exact temporal force has to be determined pragmatically from the context.

Inflected participles apart from the perfect passive are all but obsolete in vernacular LMedG and often poorly controlled (at least by ancient standards). Their use indicates a higher register and/or an official context (especially legal), and in their role as stylistically marked variants of gerunds they mainly follow the syntax of the latter in not allowing their subjects, overt or covert, to be coreferential with non-subjects in main clauses. But whereas gerunds are always active in form and meaning, participles may be either active or mediopassive. Mediopassive participles are particularly useful in the absence of a corresponding gerundial option, though many common deponent verbs (those with mediopassive morphology but active meanings) do form active gerunds: *ἔρχοντας*, *φαίνοντας* etc.

Accordingly, gerunds/participles function prototypically as active “subject-orientated adjuncts”, i.e. with a missing subject understood to be coreferential with the subject of the main verb, or as “absolute constructions”, i.e. with an overt subject of their own that is referentially distinct from that of the main verb. In practice, however, the two subjects are often coreferential, and in this respect gerundial/participial constructions follow the model of temporal clauses, cf. the non-coreferential subjects of *after X did this*, *Y did that* with the (optionally) coreferential subjects of *after X did this*, *s/he (= X) did that*, or *after s/he (= X) did this*, *X did that*.

When the subject of a gerund is coreferential with that of the main verb, therefore, the subject position is either empty and controlled by the main-verb subject (i.e. the two are automatically understood to corefer), or it is filled with a nominative subject to form an “improper” absolute construction, with the main-verb subject omitted and its pronominal content supplied by agreement morphology on the verb. Ideally, participles in this construction agree with the main-clause subject in number, gender and case (nominative) and their subject position is controlled, though various deviations from this norm are attested.

When the subject of a gerund is not coreferential with the main-verb subject, the position is filled unless the verb is impersonal; the subject may be nominative (making a true nominative absolute), or, in deference to ancient practice, genitive (making a genitive absolute), but genitive clitic pronouns are standard in the absence of nominative clitics (τοῦς has a very restricted distribution). Ideally, inflected participles agree with their own subjects in number, gender and case (nominative or genitive), though again there are deviations. The subject of a genitive absolute, like that of a nominative absolute, may in practice be coreferential with that of the main clause.

The negative is either οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν or μή(ν) according to whether the writer is following the functional parallel with temporal clauses (where οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν is used with past/present indicatives) or the participial tradition (where μή(ν) had been the standard negator since Late Antiquity); the former is the normal option.

Perfective gerunds/participles are normally understood to denote an event taking place before that of the main clause, imperfective forms as denoting eventualities (at least partly) contemporaneous with the main-clause event, but perfective forms are in decline in the later period covered by this Grammar and imperfective forms are often used in an aspectually neutral way.

Nominative Subject (± control by/coreferentiality with main-clause subject)

- διαβόντα γὰρ μικρὸς καιρὸς, ἀπέθανε ἡ κουντέσσα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8001
- ἀκούσονται τὸ οἱ ἀρχόντες, ... μεγάλως τὸ ἀνεχάρησαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 351-4
- ὁ καστελλᾶνος παρευτὺς, οὐ μὴ σκοπῶντα δόλον, ... ὑποσχέθη του νὰ τὸν δεχτῇ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8237-8
- ἐκεῖνος δὲ δεξάμενος τῆς κόρης τὸ πιτάκιν, ἀνέθαλλεν ἡ ψυχίτσα του, ἐχάρηκεν μεγάλως 15th-16th c./14th-15th c., *Achil.* N 1110-11
- ἐμόσαν του ὁ σὶρ Φιλίππε τε Ἰμπελὴν ... καὶ ὁ μισέρ Τζουάν Ταπιέρ, καθὼς ἐποίκαν οἱ δελοῖποι ἀφέντες, θέλοντα καὶ μὴ θέλοντα 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 56.26-8
- πηγαίνοντα ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πάπα, πολλὰ ἐκατηγορήσαν τοὺς Κυπριῶτες 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 296.9-10
- γροικῶντα ὁ κουβερνούρης τὸ κακὸν θέλημαν τοῦ πάπα, ἐξανάστρεψεν ἄλλους μαντατοφόρους 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 296.13-15
- σιμώνοντας ἡ ὥρα νὰ γεννηθῇ ὁ Χριστὸς, ἦλθεν ἀπὸ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς μέγα φῶς 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 329.7-9
- ὁ γαίδαρος, ιδῶντας τοῦτο, ἐκατηγόρησεν τότε τὸ ἄλογο πολλὰ 16th c., *ΝΟΥΚΙΟΣ, Ais. Myth.* 53.6-7
- ἐτοῦτα λέγοντας ἡ Παρθένος Μαρία τῆς ἡγουμένης, φαίνεται πὼς τήνε παίρνει καὶ πάγει τήνε εἰς ἓναν τόπον σκοτεινὸν 17th c./16th c., *MOREZINOS, Klini* 235.12-13
- ἐλθόντος ἡ ὥρα, ἐσηκώθη τὸ φουσᾶτον νὰ πηγαίη 17th c./16th c., *Vios Filaret.* 241.38-9
- νὰ ἐμπορῆς ἀπὸ ὅδα νὰ σοτοσκοριβέρης τοῦτο τὸ χαρτὶ ἀπὸ τὸν ... αὐθέντη δούκα, φυλαζόμενα ἄλλα ὅπου σοῦ χρεωστῶ 1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS* 2005: 141, 141.7-8
- καὶ τὸ ἄλλον ἡμισὶ [νὰ παίρνου]ν οἱ κοπιαστάδες, ἀβοηθῶντας ἡ προειρημένη κυράτζα Σταμάτα στήν φύτευσιν 1573, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001a: 2, 21.8-9
- πᾶσα γνωστικός ἄνθρωπος, δὲ κατέχοντας πότες ἔχει νὰ τοῦ ἔλθῃ αὐτὸς ὁ θάνατος, πρέπει καὶ τυχαίνει νὰ ὀρδινιαστῇ 1598, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 14, 35.5-6
- ιδόντας αὐτὰ, οἱ γιανιτζάροι του ἐφύγανε καὶ ἐδιάβησαν μὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸ του 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 44.28-9
- περνώντας λοιπόν ... καλὰ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ ... πετῶντες πολλοὶ εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ἀνασταίνεται ἓνας βασιλεὺς εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν χώραν 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 31.26-9
- τὸ δὲ ... γένος τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐπρόκοπτε ..., δὲν λογιάζοντες ... τὴν γνώμην τοῦ βασιλέως, μὴδὲ φοβούμενοι τοὺς φοβερισμοὺς του 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 32.3-5

Genitive Subject (± coreferentiality with main-clause subject)

- ὡς ἐνι θεοῦ θέλημα, ὡς γίνεται, ὅτι ..., συνεργοῦντος μου τοῦ Κυρίου, αὐτὰ εἶν τὸ ἔργον μου 12th c./11th c., *NIKON, Logos* 9 314.27-9

- τοῦτο δὲ κάμοῦ ἀκούσαντος, ἀπόστειλα γραφὴν εἰς τὸν ἡγούμενον 1125, Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 417.4
- τοῦ γάμου λυομένου, ὡς τρέφονται τὰ παιδιὰ ἀπὸ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ πατρικά ca. 1300, Cyprus, *MARUHN* 1981: 232.195
- οἱ συγγενεῖς του ἐγένοντο, καὶ μὴ θελῶν τοῦ δούκα 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1025 app. crit.
- θανατικοῦ γενομένου ... καὶ φαιλικῶς εὐρισκομένων εἰς κάστρον ἐν τῶν ἐκεῖσε κεφαλατεύοντες ..., ἀπέθανε ... τὸ παιδὶν καὶ ... ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ... ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ 16th c./15th c., *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 12.1-8
- τὸ χάρισμα ὁπδῶ γὰρ δὲ θέλω νὰ τὸ κρύψω, ζῶντα μου θέλω κανενὸς νὰ τοῦ τ' ἀποκαλύψω 16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 276-6B
- καθεζομένης τῆς Ἀφεντίας, ὑπῆγε καὶ ἐπροσκύνησεν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ γράμμα τοῦ μπάιλου τοῦ Γαλατᾶ ἔδειξεν 16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 15-17
- καὶ τὴν ἑτερην ἀποληφθὲν ἀπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν νὰ τήνε μοιράζουσιν ἐφ' ἡμισίας ὁ υἱὸς του ... μὲ τὸν ἄγκονά του ..., ἀποτυχόντας (σ)του τοῦ προειρημένου κυρ Ἀλίσαντρου 1579, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001a: 5, 23.14-16
- μὴ ἔρχοντάς τους στὸ ἄνωθεν τέρμενον, νὰ ἡμποροῦν οἱ κριτάδες ν' ἀποφασίσουν διὰ γνώμην τους 1582, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001a: 135, 89.2-3
- ἀποθανόντας τοῦ καλογέρου, ν' ἀπομένη τὸ λεγόμενο ἀμπέλι στὰ παιδιὰ τοῦ ἄνωθεν Λιγνοῦ 1600, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 92, 108.10-11
- ὅποιος ἀγαπᾷ ἐμένα ζῶν(ας) μου, ἔνα τους παρακαλῶ, ν' ἀγαποῦσι τὴν μάνα μου καὶ τὰ παιδιὰ μου δέκα 1662, Sifnos, *MERTZIOS* 1958a: 1, 110.144-5
- κάθοντά σου εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν, γελᾷς ἢ συντυχαίνεις; 17th c., Cyprus, *CHRISTODOULOU* 1983: A, 406.389

NOTES

- (i) According to context, a gerundial clause may take on causal or circumstantial nuances, as expected.
- (ii) In colloquial texts a missing subject may sometimes not be linked directly to the main-clause subject and a commonsense interpretation is required; e.g. in the following the subject of the gerund is coreferential with the subject of a subordinate clause:

παγαίνοντας εἰς τὸ σπῖτι του, ... ἀπὸ τὸ σακοῦλι, ὅπου ἔβαλε τὸ κεφάλι, ἔτρεχεν αἷμα! 16th c., *DIONYS., Istor.* 253.23-4

3.5 Causal Clauses

- (38) Causal clauses are introduced by conjunctions meaning "because" or "since" and contain past/present indicative or future/modal verb forms according to the sense required.

In real (past/present) time the action or situation described in a causal clause must precede or overlap with the eventuality that it provides a cause or reason for.

But a causal clause may also represent a motivating belief held at the time of speaking about what will/would happen in the future as a *consequence* of the main-clause event (see NOTE (ii) below for EMG examples).

Typical LMedG/EMG causal conjunctions are:

"because": *ὅτι, διότι, διατό, διοῦ, διατ/(δ)γιατί*

"since": *ἐπεὶ/ἐπειδὴ(τις), ἔσ(τ)οντας (νά, ὁπού/πού), στάντες (νά, καὶ νά).*

The conjunctions *ὅτι* and *διότι* "because" are used throughout the period of this Grammar; the second, in origin, is a clarification of the former involving prefixation of *δι(ά)* "because of".

As often happens cross-linguistically, *διατί* "why" (retained alongside its later development *γιατί*) also came to mean "because".

Ἔσ(τ)οντας and *σάντες* (in use alongside the traditional *ἐπεὶ/ἐπειδὴ* "since") are in origin gerunds of the verb "be", first used in tenseless absolute constructions containing *νά*-subjunctives marked only for aspect, "[X's performance of Y] being the case". Subsequently they came to be used with tensed indicative forms, in the case of *ἔστοντας* often in combination with *ὁπού* (and occasionally with retention of *νά*), "it being the case that [X happens/happened]". From this, it was a simple step to reinterpretation as a conjunction meaning "since", "given that".

"Because"

ὡς τὸ ἤκουσα ὁ δοῦλος σου χαρᾶς πολλῆς ἐπλήσθην, *ὅτι* ἡ κοιλία μου *ἠυκαίρησεν*
ἀπὸ τὴν ἀφαγίαν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 258–9

χθὲς ἐν αὐτῷ ἐσφάξαμεν ἡδονικὰ κοράσια, *διότι* οὐδὲν ἠθέλασιν ὡσάν τὰς ἐλαλοῦμαν
15th c./12th c., *Dig. E* 72–3

καὶ ἐπλάκωσεν τὸν λαὸν ... *ὅτι* ἐξήχυσεν ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ ἐπνιξεν χιλιάδας ν' καὶ β'
1326, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 41, 93.7–9

οὐκ ἤμπορῶ σὰς γράψει, *διατί* βαρειῶμαι γράφει τα διὰ τὴν πολυγραφίαν
14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7802–3

ὅλοι τὸν θέλουσι γελᾶ, ... *διότι* ἐστράφη ἀνεργος, τὴν ἐξοδὸν τοῦ ἐχάσε
14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 8185–6

οἱ βοσκοὶ ... ἀσηκώθησαν ἀπάνω, συχυσμένοι *διότι* ἐκοιμοῦνταν
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 332.12–14

ἡ ... Μακαρία Κουκάκαινα ... εὐρίσκεται ἀχαμνά, *διατί* ἔναι γερόντισσα
1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.2–4

ὁ πατέρας τοῦ δὲν τὸν ἐδέχτη, *διατί* ἐφοβάτονε ἀπὸ τὸν σουλτάν Μουράτη
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.26–7

παρακαλῶ τὴν πανιερότη σου νὰ μοῦ τσι στείλῃς τσι τὰβλες, *ὅγιατι* μοῦ *κάνουσι*
μεγάλη χρεία 1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.24–5

νὰ μοῦ στείλῃς δύο ὠρολόγια ... *ὅτι* μὲ *χρειάζονται* γιὰ τὰ παιδιὰ μου
1697, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 37, 226.11–13

"Since"

ἐπεὶ ... τοῦ τόπου τὰ συνήθεια *ὀρίζουν* ὅτι ὁ πρίγκιπας, ... σωματικῶς νὰ
ἀπέρχεται ἐντὸς τοῦ πριγκιπάτου 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7880–3

ἔκαμε καὶ ἔκαμάν τοῦ ἄλλην εἰς τύπωσιν ..., *ἐπειδὴ* αὐτὸς *ἔναι* μεγαλύτερος βασιλεὺς
παρὰ ὅλους 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.17–21

ἔστειλεν ἐξοδες καὶ κάτεργα ὁ πάπας ..., *ἔστοντας* ὁπού πολλές φορές τὸ *ἐβουλήθησαν*
(νὰ γένει ἡ ἔνωσις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν) 17th c./16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1631) 229.40–2

τοῦ ἑκακοφάνη πολλά, *ἔστοντας* νὰ *εἶναι* ὅλοι μίας πίστης
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.11–12

στάντες καὶ ... νὰ μὴν *ἔχω* νὰ δώσω 1614, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 219, 206.15–6

στάντες νὰ *ἔχε* γυναῖκα *ἐπαρμένη* 1628, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 2, 333.16

νὰ μὴν *ἔχη* ἐξουσίαν ... κανένas ... νὰ τοὺς ἐνοχλήσῃ, *ἔστοντας* ὁπού *ἔγινε* μὲ κοινήν
γνώμην καὶ βουλήν πάντων τῶν καθηγουμένων 1661, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 71, 200.13–15

θέλω τὸν ἐγκαλέσειν εἰς τὴν ὥραν τῆς κρίσεως, *ἐπειδὴ* καὶ *ἀφιέρωσά* το διὰ ψυχικὴν
μου σωτηρίαν 1683, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 18, 45.8–10

κανένas δὲν ἀπεκοτοῦσε νὰ φανερωθῇ, *ἔστοντας* ἐκεῖνοι οἱ φοβεροὶ πειράτες νὰ
ἔστεκόντασι μὲ τὸ σπαθὶ στὸ χέρι 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 22.9–11

ἐπειδὴ *τίς* καὶ *δὲν* ἤξεύρει νὰ γράφῃ 1706, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1941: 1, 110.31

NOTES

(i) With verbs of emotion *ὅτι, διότι, γιατί* etc. come close to introducing complements, cf. *I am angry because/that ...* :

τὸν αὐθεντόπουλόν μου συγχαίρομαι *ὅτι* *ἠτύχησεν* καὶ *ἐκέρδησεν* βρεφόθεν
?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit. f.1v* 18–20

τὰ ροῦχα ... μέρτσα τὰ ἔλαβα καὶ κρῖμα εἰς τὸν κόπον ... *γιατί* *ἐβγῆκε* πολλά
ἀχαμνὸ 1696, Ochrid, MERTZIOS 1947a: 9, 214.10–12

(ii) A natural extension is the substitution of factive *ὁπού* "in so far as" in later texts when the cause/reason is regarded as true (though many of the clauses in question can also be treated as relatives, see 5.3.3):

νὰ ἐβγοῦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἀνόλπιδου χρέους, ὁπού δὲν *ἔχομεν* ... ἄλλοῦ
ἐλπίδα 1583, ?Athens, MERTZIOS 1954: 1, 124.28–9

θωρῶντας τὸν καὶ λυπῶντας τὸν ὁπού *ἦτονε* εἰς τὴ φυλακή
1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 752, 652–653.4–6

καὶ ἴτα νὰ τὸν ἐδεκτῶ ἐγὼ νὰ τοῦ κάμω ἡ γι-ἀνήπορη, ὁπού ... ἴτα *εἶχα* ἐγὼ *γίνε*
στὸ κόσμος; 1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.15–16

(iii) Since there is a temporal relation between causes/reasons and main-clause events, and since *καὶ* is regularly used to link clauses denoting events that follow one another

in time, *καί* is often used to conjoin clauses that stand in a causal relationship in place of formal subordination, especially in more colloquial styles. Some degree of grammaticalization appears to be involved given the adaptation of *καί* to *ὁκαί* to resemble a "true" conjunction:

τὰ ποκάμισα ..., μὴν ἔχῃς καμίαν ἔγνοια, ὁκαί ... θέλω σου τὰ πέψει
1498, Crete, Manoussacas 1976: 3, 21.15–16

μηδὲν πέψῃς ἄτυχους (μαντατοφόρους) καί χάσῃς πολλά
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 22.35–6

ἀπὸ πτωχὸν μὴ δανεισθῇς καί κλαίει καὶ ἀκολουθᾷ σε! 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 44

ὅς πάμενε, συντρόφισες, κ' ἐπέρασε ἡ ὥρα 17th–18th c./17th c., *Zinon Prol.* 168

- (iv) Conjunctions normally introducing other types of adverbial clause are occasionally used causally, e.g. *ἀφῶν/ἀφόν* etc., lit. "after", or *ἄμα* etc., lit. "as soon as" (cf. 3.4.1), *καθώς* etc., lit. "as" (cf. 3.7):

ὀλίγοι ἄνθρωποι ἤμποροῦν νὰ τὸ (κάστρο) ἔχουσι φυλάττει, ἀφῶν ἔχει
σωτάρχισιν κ' ἐνὶ ἀφιρωμένον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8273–4

ἔθελέν τους ὀξαμινιάσειν ἐκεῖνος μὲ τὸν βισκούντην, καθὼς ἦσαν κλησιαστικοί
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 32.7–8

ἄμα σὲ ἀπάντησα ἐδῶ, κάνει χρεῖα νὰ σὲ πάρω 16th c., *Nov.* II 162.26–7

- (v) Very occasionally in later texts a *νὰ*-clause (± *διὰ*) is used to express a cause/reason without a preceding conjunction; the subject is always omitted, being coreferential with the main-clause subject, and the verb is marked for aspect but not for tense (cf. 3.4.2, NOTE (i) for similar temporal clauses):

ἐπῆγες καὶ κόντρα τῆς φύσεώς σου, νὰ μὴν λυπηθῇς τὰ παιδία σου, καὶ τὸν
πλοῦτον ... νὰ λογιᾶσῃς γιὰ μουδὲ τίποτες, καὶ ἐπρόκρινες νὰ εἶσαι
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 33.29–32

"you went against your nature, not pitying your children and caring nothing for wealth, you ..."

ἓνας παράσιτος ὅπου ... ἐκράζουτον Φαγότος, διὰ νὰ εἶναι ἄνθρωπος χοντρός
..., εἶπεν τοῦ Βασιλέως 17th c., *Bertoldos* 28.2–5

"a parasite, who, being a fat man, was called 'Glutton', spoke to the king"

3.6 Concessive Clauses

- (39) Concessive clauses are introduced by (*ἂν*) *καλὰ καί*, *ἀνέναι καί* (when following a main clause), *μὲ ὅλο πού*, "(al)though"; simple *ἂν καί* is not attested in the corpus before the 17th/18th c. They may also be introduced by *καί ἂν*, καὶ ἂς "even if"/"even though". See also on conditionals in 3.3.

Conjunctions meaning "although" take present/past indicatives, those meaning "even if/even though" naturally take the same range of tenses as the corresponding conditional conjunction.

ὁ Θεὸς ἐλευθέρωσεν σε καί ἂς εἶσαι ψωμοζήτη 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 216

αὐτὸς ὁ Εὐλάλιος καί ἂν ἔλθῃ ... τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἐξορθώνουσι ... πατέρα τῶν
γραμματικῶν 15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 43–7

τὸν κόσμον καί ἂν ἐγύρευες, κάλλιον οὐκ εἶχες εὐρεῖν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 984

τὸ ἔγραψα ... διὰ νὰ μὴν ἀπελπίζεται τινὰς κἂν ἁμαρτωλὸς πολλὰ καί ἂν ἔναι
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 415.22–3

σαράντ' ἀγίους καί ἂν ἐκραζες μὲ πόθο νὰ γυρεύης, τὲς λειτουργίης σου χάνεις τες,
μὰ μένα δὲν μοῦ φεύγεις 16th c., *Alfav.* 10 71–2

χτύπησε, καλὰ καί γρινιασμένη τὴν εἶδα ὀψὲς ..., μὴν εἶν' κιανεὶς στὸ σπῖτι της
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katiz.* II.93–5

κι ἂν εἶναι κι ὥς τὴ σήμερο δὲν εἶναι παντρεμένη, μ' ὅλο πού τόσοι βασιλιοὶ τὴν ἔχου
ζητημένη, δὲν ἔν' παρὰ γιὰτὶ πονεῖ ... ἡ καρδιά μου
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Erof.* I.533–5

γιὰ ποιά 'φορμὴ μακρὰ νὰ θὰ γυρεύης θερῖα ..., ἂν ἔν κ' ἐσὺ ἔχεις ἓνα θερῖο ἄγριο
πλιά σιμά σου 17th c., *Pist. voskos* I 1.79–83

ὁ ὅποιος, ἂν καλὰ καί εἶμαι ἁμαρτωλός, μὲ ὅλον ἐτοῦτο ἐπρογνώριζα ἕως ὅπου
μέλλει νὰ φθάσῃ ἡ Ἐκκλησία 17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 57–9

καὶ μοιράσασιν ... τὴν ἄνωθεν φυτέαν ..., καλὰ καί ὅπου τὴν ὥραν ὅπου ἀπόθανεν ὁ
ποτὲ ἀφέντης Ξερίτης ἐτύχαινε νὰ τὴ μοιράσου
1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 299, 285.4–5

ἀγκαλὰ καί εἶναι πτωχεῖα εἰς τοῦτο τὸ νησί, μολαταῦτα ... τοὺς ἐβοηθήσαμεν
1684, Patmos, HOFMANN 1928: 9a, 70.13–15

ἐγὼ βασιλικὴν τιμὴν σοῦ ἔκαμα, ἂν καί ἦσουν καὶ ἐχθρός μου
18th c./17th c., *Alex. Fyll.* 67.24–5

δὲν εἶναι ἴδιον τῶν ... καβαλιέρων τὸ νὰ δείχνουν τὲς πληγὲς τους, ἂν καί νὰ ἦτον
τόσες μεγάλες ὅπου νὰ ἐβγαίνουν τὰ ἄντερα τους 18th c., *Don Kis.* 47.11–13

NOTES

- (i) Relative clauses introduced by *ὅπου* (see 5.3.3) may sometimes take on a concessive/temporal force ("though"/"when") and express a reaction to/contrast with what has preceded ("whereas"):

εἵμασταν χορτασμένοι ... πού ἡμασταν πεινασμένοι. ... τί νὰ γένη, πού φάγαμε τὰ
ἄλογα, ὅπου ἡμασταν χρειασμένοι; 16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 899–902

ἂμῃ δεῖξε μου τὸ πῶς ἐσεῖς γίνεσθε, ὅπου γυναῖκες οὐδὲν ἔχετε
16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 44.11–12 (Konstantinopulos)

ἀπ' αὐτὴν (περηφανία) ἐξέπεσε Σατᾶν ὁ ἐωσφόρος καὶ 'γίνῃ σκοτεινὸμορφος,
ὅπου ἦτον λαμπροφόρος 17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1603–4

ἐκεῖνος ἤθελεν εἶσταν ζωντανός, ὅπου τώρα εἶναι ἀπεθαμένος
17th c., *Bertoldin.* 96.26–7

3.7 Comparative Clauses

(40) Clauses comparing the manner in which a main-clause event took place with some other eventuality (e.g. *A happened [as X hoped (it would)]/[in the (same) way that B happened]*) are introduced by *ὡς/(ὡ)σάν/ὥσπερ; (ὡς) καθὼς/καθὰ/καταπῶς; οἶον/ὄγοιον/γοιόν/ὡς γοῖον/ὡς γοιόν*. These conjunctions are used with indicatives when the event compared is real, "(just) as", and with *νά* + conditional forms when it is hypothetical/counterfactual, "as if".

There are no examples in the database of *(ὡς) καθὼς, καθὰ, καταπῶς* used with conditional verb forms, and these appear to have been used exclusively for accurate/factual comparisons.

*Ογοιον, γοιόν, ὡς γοῖον are characteristically Cypriot forms.

Indicatives (present, imperfect, aorist, pluperfect)

οὐ γὰρ εἶν ἀνάγκη ... περὶ πίστεως δογματίζειν ..., *καθὼς καὶ προεῖπα*
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 150.23–4

ἃς μένη ὁ τόπος ἔρημος, ἃς γένη *ὡς ἦτον* πρῶτον 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 283

καθεὶς κοιμάται *ὡς ἔστρωσεν*, ὡς ἔσπειρεν θερίζει 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 365

ἐκίνησαν τὰ σάλια μου ... νὰ τὴν ἐπέπεσα *καθὰ ἦτον φουσκωμένη*
14th c./12th c., Ptoch. IV 219–20

κι ὥμοσε ὁ μπάιλος πρότερον καὶ τότε οἱ λίζιοι ἀνθρώποι, νὰ εἶναι δοῦλοι καὶ πιστοὶ
... *ὡς ἔνι* τὸ συνήθειον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7930–2

ἦτον πρώτη σύμβια ... τοῦ ἀφέντη τῆς Καρύταινας, *ὡσάν* σὲ τὸ ἀφηγήτην
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8004–5

ἔχομέν σε ἀδελφὸν καὶ συλλειτουργὸν καὶ ἦδη, *καθὼς ὁρᾷς*, καὶ γράφομέν σοι τὰ περὶ
τοῦτου 1376, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 255, 486.16–17

αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν τὸ κενὸν χρέος, *ὥσπερ χρεωστοῦμεν* οἱ ἀπαξάπαντες
14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 147–8.5–6

ὠρισε νὰ τὰ καταλύσω, καὶ νὰ τὰ χαλάσω ἐκ θεμελίων, *ὥσπερ ἐποίησα* καὶ τὴν
Θεσσαλονίκην 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.16

μηδὲν μετανώσης *ὡς γοιόν ἐποῖκες* καὶ τὲς ἄλλε(ς) φορές
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 206.24–5

μωρὸν παιδὶν τὸ φτιάξουν, *γοιόν τὸν θωρεῖς* ἐδὰ ζωγραφισμένον
16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 18.15–16

ἐγένεν ἔτσι *ὡς καθὼς εἶπεν* καὶ ἐπροφήτευσεν ἐκείνη ἡ γραία
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 334.9–10

ἔλα νὰ πᾶμε εἰς τὸ σπῖτι μου, νὰ σταθῇς νὰ ῥδινιάσω τὰ παιδιὰ μου, τὸ σπῖτι μου,
καταπῶς εἶναι ἡ τάξη 16th c., *Nov. II* 162.29–31

σὲ παρακαλοῦμε νὰ εἴμεστέν Φράγκοι λίμπεροι, *ὡς καθὼς γράφομε* ἀπὸ πάνω
1571, Mani, CHASIOITIS 1970: 6.1, 242.41–2

εἶντα μιλοῦσι τὰ πουλιά ξεύρει, *σάν εἶχ'* ἀκούσει
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.267

οἱ Οὐγγαροὶ, ἂν ἠθέλανε ἐμπῆ ᾗ τὸν πόλεμον *ὡσάν ἐμπήκανε* οἱ Φραντζέζοι,
ἐκερδέζανε τὸν πόλεμο 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.11–12

τί ἄλλον καλὸν θεὸ νὰ ἐκδέχονται ἀπ' ἐκείνους, μόνον νὰ παίρουνσιν, ἂν ἔχουν
τίβοτις, *καθὼς* τὸ *κάνουν* τὰ κοινόβια 1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.50–1

εἰς τὸ τέλος τῆς θέλει εὔρει πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ, *καθὼς* τὰ *εὐρήκασιν* καὶ οἱ πρωτύτεροι
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 30.9–10

εἶδα τὸ ἄστρον *σάν* μοῦ *ἐλέγασιν* οἱ χωριάτες, καὶ ἐπληροφόρηθηκα
17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 62–3

τοὶ γάμους σου ἔρχεται νὰ τιμήσῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Πέρσις, *σάν εἶχα* σου *μιλήσει*
17th c., TROILOS, *Rodol.* III.215–16

ἔδωσαμεν καὶ τοῦ Κουτλουμουσίου μοναστηρίου τὸν Ἅγιον Νικόλαον Σιμάτου ...,
ὡς καθὼς διαλαμβάνει τὸ παλαιὸν γράμμα τοῦ Πρωτάτου
1661, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 71, 200.8–11

τὸ ἄλλον ἡμισὸν ἐχάρισεν το ... καὶ νὰ γινε ὅλον τοῦ μοναστηριοῦ βακούφιν *ὄγοιον*
τὸ *εἶχεν* καὶ πρῶτα 1665, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 7, 19.8–11

Conditional Forms

ὁ ρῆγας ὠρισε ... ὅσοι ... χρεωστοῦν ὁμάτζια, τοῦ Ρούσου νὰ τὰ ποιήσουσιν ...
ὥσπερ νὰ ἦτο ὁλοστινὸς ὁ ρῆγας ἀπατὸς του 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7858–62

ἔκλαψεν καὶ ἐθρήνησεν *ὥσπερ νὰ εἶχεν χάσει* τὸ ρηγᾶτον <τὸ> τῆς Φραγκίας
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8179–80

ἐπαρέδωκέν του καὶ τὸ κάτεργον, *ὡςγοῖον νὰ ᾔχεν* εἴσταιν δικόν του
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 12.17–18

ἐγδύνουνται ... ἀπὸ τὰ σπῖτιαν καὶ ἀπὸ ὅλα τως τὰ δικαιώματα *σάν νὰ μὴν* τὰ
θέλασιν *ἔχει* ποτὲ 1592, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 19, 74.13–14

τοῦ ὁποῖου δίδει αὐτοριτάν, *ὡσάν νὰ ἦτον* τὸ ἐδικόν τῆς κορμίν, ὅτι νὰ ἡμπορῇ νὰ
τήνε ντεφεντέρη 1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.4

κάθα λογῆς ψυχικὸν γῆ χάρη ὅπου νὰ ἔκαμεν ... γιὰ τὸ ἀνωθεν ἀμπέλι νὰ εἶναι
κομμένα καὶ ἀνουλάδα *ὡσάν ποτὲ νὰ μὴν εἶχεν γενεῖ*
1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 651, 568.6–7

NOTE

- (i) There is overlap between manner and temporal conjunctions reflected, for example, in the dual use of *(ὡ)σάν*, "as"/"when", cf. on temporal clauses in 3.4.

(41) Clauses comparing less favoured alternatives to prospective/hypothetical situations presented in a main clause (e.g. *X will/would do A [rather than (do) B]*) are introduced by *παρά νά* + subjunctive (prospective) or conditional (hypothetical/counterfactual). Clauses comparing unrealized alternatives to real-time events (e.g. *X did A [rather than (doing) B]*), or activities carried out to a greater/lesser degree than such events (e.g. *X did A [more/less than (s/he did) B]*), are introduced by *παρά πού* + indicative.

Prospective

- σήμερον ἄς ἀποθάνωμεν παρὰ νὰ ἐντραποῦμεν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5396
κάλλιον τὸ ἔχω νὰ ἀποθάνω, παρὰ νὰ μοῦ σηκώσῃ ἐκεῖνον ἀποῦ μοῦ ἔδωκεν
 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR.*, *Chron.* A 24.7–8
 κι' ἴντα μπορῶ, νὰ ζήσης, παρὴ στὸ λάκκο σήμερο ... νὰ πὰ σὲ θάψω ...;
 17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS*, *Katz.* III.112–14

Hypothetical/Counterfactual

"Would Have"

- ἤθελεν κάλλιον νὰ εἶχεν χάσει μίαν ἀπὸ τὲς χώρες του ..., παρὰ νὰ εἶχασιν ποσῶς
 τὸν Κουραδὴ σκοτώσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7085–7

"Would"

- πρῶτα ν' ἀπόθαναν καὶ νὰ τοὺς ἀκληρήσαν, παρὰ νὰ τοὺς ἐβγάλασιν ἐκ τὰ συνήθεια
 τοῦ ἔχουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7904–5

Real Time

- αὐτὸς πλέον ἐβλάβετονε παρὰ ἀποῦ ὠφελεῖτονε
 17th c./16th c., *MOREZINOS*, *Klini* 56.23–4

NOTES

- (i) In texts from the end of the period covered by this Grammar παρὰ (ποῦ) νὰ + subjunctive is also used with comparative temporal adverbs (= "sooner/later than"), after ἄλλος (= "(anyone/anything) other than"), and with negated verbs of ability (= "cannot (be otherwise) than"/"cannot but"):

- ἐδιάβη καὶ ἔβαλε τοὺς χριστιανούς ᾗ τὴν μέση πρωτύτερα παρὰ νὰ σώσῃ ὁ
 Σιγισμόντος 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.20–1
 γιατί ἔχουν τόσες παρρησιές π' ἂν εἶχα ἐκατὸ γλώσσες ... τὰ χεῖλη δὲν μποροῦσι
παρὰ ποῦ ν' ἀποφρίξουνε καὶ νὰ μὴ δυναστοῦσι
 17th–18th c./17th c., *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 65–8

- δὲν θέλω ἄλλο ἀπὸ λόγου σου παρὰ νὰ γυρίσῃς εἰς τὸ Τομπόζο, νὰ ὑπάγῃς ἐκ
 μέρους μου εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν σινιόρα 18th c., *Don Kis.* 51.16–18

- (ii) Adverbs/conjunctions with closely related meanings (e.g. "except", "but for") are used in the same way:

- πῶς νὰ τὸν ἀποδέξεται, πῶς νὰ τὸν χαιρετήσῃ, εἰμὴ νὰ λέγῃ ὅτι ἄπιστος καὶ νὰ
 τὸν θανατώσῃ; 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4898–9
 ἡ παροῦσα μου ταπεινὴ δὲν εἶναι διὰ ἄλλην αἰτίαν πάρει νὰ τῆς ἀναγγείλω, ὅτι
 1658, Cyprus, *TSIRPANLIS* 1973: 106, 160.5–6

- (iii) Occasionally περὶ/περοῦ appears in place of παρὰ, especially in texts composed in a more vernacular style:

- κάλλιον τὸ ἔχω, θάνατον σήμερον ν' ἀποθάνω περὶ νὰ εἰποῦσιν ἀλλαχοῦ νὰ μὲ
 κατηγορήσουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1134–5

- κάλλιον τοῦ νὰ ἀποθάνῃ περὶ νὰ μείνῃ ἀνεργος τοῦ νὰ μὴ διαφορήσῃ
 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8187–8
 ἔκρινα ὅτι νὰ καγοῦν τὰ κάτεργα καὶ ξύλα περοῦ λαὸς ὁ τῶν Γραικῶν ἐνωθῇ μὲ
 τοὺς Φράγκους 16th c./15th c., *LIMEN.*, *Velis.* (Λ) 265–6
κάλλιον εἶναι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νὰ κείτεται ἀπὸ μεγάλην ἀνάγκην περὶ νὰ ἔχῃ τὰ
 βάρη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 28.19–21 (Konstantinopulos)

3.8 Other Adverbial Clauses

- (42) An articular (nominalized) infinitive may be governed by a preposition and function in the manner of an English gerund: *after/because of/by ... [(X) doing Y]*. In more popular styles νὰ + subjunctive may be substituted for the infinitive when the meaning is one of purpose or intent.

Only in more elevated writing can the article be inflected in a case other than the accusative or the infinitive have an overt (accusative) subject of its own; normally, an empty subject position is controlled by the subject of the main verb.

In general, these constructions are characteristic of texts from the earlier medieval period, and survive later chiefly as formulaic phrases.

τό + Infinitive

- ἤρξεν ὁ Λιεζάρης εἰς τὸ λέγειν 1142, Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. V: 6, 303.25
μετὰ τὸ δοῦναι τὴν ἀπόφασιν, καρτερεῖ ὁ κριτὴς ἡμέρας ι'
 ca. 1300, Cyprus, *SIMON* 1973: 73.170–1
 τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐλαττωμένον εἶχε ἐκ τοῦ μὴ φαίνεσθαι τινα παρὰ τοῦ κήπου τότε
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 287–8
 ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος μετὰ τὸ βαπτισθῆναι εἶπεν
 17th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS*, *Chron.* R 65.41–2

NOTE

- (i) Nominalized infinitives governed by a preposition are also used to complement adjectives, e.g. "nice to look at", "hard to please" etc.:

- ὁ τυφλὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐγέννηκεν ἐξάκουστος καὶ εἰς τὸ βλέπειν φίνος
 17th c., *PROSOPSAS*, *Peri tyflou* 143–4

τό + νὰ-clause

- τὸ κατούδιον μας στῆσας εἰς τὸ τραπέζιν, διὰ τὸ νὰ εἰποῦν ὅτι ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖνο τὴν
 ζημίαν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 264–5
 ἀφίνω καὶ ἐπτὰ ἱερεῖς ἀπὸ δύο ὑπερπύρων σιτάρην εἰς τὸ νὰ μὲ ποιήσουν ἀπὸ μ'
 λειτουργιῶν ὁ καθένας ἕκαστος ca. 1270, Athos, *BOMPAIRE* 1964: 9A, 82.55

- (43) Prepositions/adverbs used as conjunctions meaning "without" take a finite clause containing a subjunctive (rarely a conditional) verb-form marked with νὰ.

- πᾶσα στρατιώτης εὐγενής πρέπει νά τοὺς λυπᾶται διατὸ ἀπέθαναν ἄδικα, δίχως νὰ πολεμήσουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1160–1
- ἡμεῖς ... οὐδέν ἔχομεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀνευ νὰ ᾔσαν κι ἄλλοι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7911–12
- ἀφότου ἔφυγεν δίχα νὰ πολεμήση ... πῶς ἡμποροῦμε ἡμεῖς πεζοὶ νὰ βλάψωμεν τὸν τόπον; 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 9177–81
- πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔσφαξε δίχως νὰ ἔχουν πταῖσμα 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1454
- καὶ θέλεις εἴσταιν ἀπότορμος ... νὰ τοὺς ὀρίζης νὰ πηγαίνουν εἰς τὲς χρήσε(ς) σου χωρὶς νὰ ἔχης ἔννοιαν ἵντα νὰ τοὺς πλερώσης 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 22.30–3
- νά δώση τὴν πρόβα πασανοῦ κομματίου τῆς ἀλτελαρίας ὅπου ἡ μπάλλα του νὰ ναι ἀπὸ βολίμι καθάριο χωρὶς νὰ ᾔχη σίδερο ?15th–16th c., *Heptanese, MORGAN* 1954: 60.33–4
- ἔπεσε ἡ τέντα του ... χωρὶς ἄνεμον καὶ χωρὶς νὰ τήνε σείση τινάς 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.3

4 Verbs and Verb Phrases

Verb Phrases (VPs) function as the predicates of clauses (see 1.1). The “core” of every VP is a verb form, the head of the phrase, together with its complements, if any. The traditional subcategorization into intransitive verbs (taking no object complement), transitive verbs (taking a direct object complement) and ditransitive verbs (taking both a direct object and an indirect object or other additional complement) deals only with nominal and certain prepositional phrase complements; other subclasses of verb may also take, e.g., sentential complements; cf. Chapter 2.

Verbs govern their complements in a variety of ways. Item-specific requirements (e.g. the choice of preposition in *rely on*) are a matter for the lexicon, but some overall principles can be established. General government requirements include the assignment of specified cases to nominal phrases carrying particular grammatical functions (see 5.1), and of particular conjunctions or verb forms to different types of complement clause (see Chapter 2). Prepositional phrase complements of various types may also be required to have particular prepositions (6.1). The various “markers” of complement status are essentially grammatical in nature, though there may be additional semantic factors in specific cases.

A VP may also contain a range of more “peripheral” adverbial adjuncts, including adverbs/adverb phrases (6.2), nominal and prepositional phrases used adverbially (5.1 and 6.1), and adverbial clauses (Chapter 3). These are unmarked by the verb, and the combination of lexical, morphological and syntactic properties in any given adjunct typically carries semantic rather than grammatical information.

This chapter deals specifically with the grammatical categories and functions of verbs themselves, i.e. independently of their co-occurring complements and adjuncts, whose properties are discussed elsewhere, as noted above.

Verb forms are either finite, i.e. inflected for values of person (1st, 2nd or 3rd) and number (singular or plural), or non-finite, i.e. not so inflected; in LMedG/EMG the non-finite forms comprise gerunds/participles and infinitives. Agreement of finite verbs with their subjects in person and number is an overt marker of the predication relation (1.1). This relation also holds in non-finite clauses, but the lack of person/number agreement in non-finite verb forms is typically associated with the absence of overt subjects leading to grammatical and referential “control” of the empty subject position by the subject of the main clause; gerunds and participles used “absolutely” do, however, have overt subjects of their own. See 2.2; 3.4, Rules (36) and (37), and 3.8.

The full set of finite verb forms, including periphrases with finite auxiliaries, is organized into paradigms, each of which is defined by specific values for some or all of the following categories: time reference (past, present, future), aspect (perfective, imperfective), mood (indicative, subjunctive, imperative), and voice (active, [middle: residual as a

distinct category for the perfective stem in some verbs], mediopassive). Time reference is a property only of indicatives and of non-indicative forms that may be used, *inter alia*, to refer to the future; only active transitive and ditransitive verbs allow grammatical alternation of voice; non-finite infinitives, gerunds and participles are marked only for aspect and voice (though gerunds are always active in form and meaning, and participles [residual apart from the perfect passive] agree with their controlling nominals in number, gender and case, but not in person).

Each member of each paradigm then carries a particular person/number combination (1 sg., 2 sg., 3 sg.; 1 pl., 2 pl., 3 pl.) so that every finite form can be given an unambiguous identifying label, e.g. "2 pl. past perfective indicative mediopassive of V" (in traditional terms "2 pl. aorist indicative passive of V"). Neither the more detailed definitions nor the traditional names necessarily indicate the full range of functions that the forms in a given paradigm may fulfil. Details are given below.

Among the grammatical categories of verbs, aspect alone is marked by stem-variation, sometimes by suppletion. Other morphological variation marking different combinations of grammatical values in verb forms is located in the inflectional endings added to the aspect stems. The prefixed augment, partly co-marking reference to the past in indicatives alongside specific sets of endings, is an exception. For full details see the relevant chapters of Part III, *Verb Morphology*.

For the sake of convenience and familiarity, the traditional term "tense" will continue to be used below to identify particular paradigms (e.g. the "present indicative" etc.), but it should be remembered that the "tenses" so defined are merely the names of sets of forms sharing the same values for the verbal categories of time reference, aspect, voice and mood.

4.1 Person and Number

(44) All finite verb forms are marked for one of the permissible combinations of person and number. These (pro)nominal categories appear on verb forms as markers of agreement with a subject, which is regularly omitted if it is itself pronominal in content and unemphatic (cf. 1.1).

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 sg. νύμφην ... πέμπω σε τήν περιπόθητόν μου | ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., <i>Eisit.</i> f.8v.15–16 |
| 2 sg. καὶ τὸ μεγαλογράμματον ἱμάτιν ... ἡ χάρις σου ἡ πώλησόν ἡ δὸς ὅπου
κελεύεις | 14th c./12th c., <i>Ptoch.</i> I 60–1 |
| 3 sg. τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐπαρέδωκεν | 14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H 7804 |
| 1 pl. οὕτως σὲ τὴν ἐδώκαμεν | 16th c./14th–15th c., <i>Achil.</i> O 22 |
| 2 pl. τὸν κύρην τοῦ ἐσκοτώσατε | 15th c./14th c., <i>Pol. Tr.</i> 1368 |
| 3 pl. λέγουσι, δέσποτά μου, καὶ ἱκετικῶς ἀναφέρουσιν πρὸς τὴν πανιερότητά σου
ὅτι γραφὴν τῆς πανιερότητός σου εἶδασιν | 1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.6–8 |

4.2 Voice

Voice is a morphological category of all LMedG/EMG verb forms. Many verbs have *either* active *or* mediopassive forms, but those that have both sets are utilized in the realization of the active/passive alternation: only sentences containing active transitive verbs, prototypically with agentive subjects, have passive counterparts containing mediopassive forms. Thus neither sentences with active intransitive verbs nor those with transitive deponent verbs (i.e. having mediopassive inflection but active meanings) allow regular passivization, either because the key grammatical function (object) is absent, as in the second example below, or because the relevant morphology (mediopassive) is already deployed, as in the first:

ἐκεῖνο ποῦ ἔπαν τὰ δένδρα οὐδὲ μᾶς τὸ ξηγρήθη

16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 2116

τρέχουσιν εἰς τὴν κάμεραν

17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 51.1–2

Passivization involves a reorganization of sentence structure whereby the noun phrase that was the direct object of the active verb, prototypically denoting the patient of the action, stands as the subject of the corresponding mediopassive verb. This in turn entails suppression of the active subject, though an agentive noun phrase may still be included optionally in a passive sentence within a prepositional phrase headed by ἀπό "by" (+ accusative). Active/passive sentence pairs are broadly synonymous in that the same situation is described in both, but different participants are foregrounded according to whether the agent or patient of the relevant scenario is represented by the subject noun phrase.

The functional range of LMedG/EMG mediopassive forms is broader than that of *be-passives* in English, and reflects some of the characteristics of the middle voice of AG. In the case of "washing", for example, an individual X may (a) *wash someone/something* (active, X = the agent), (b) *get (himself/herself) washed* (middle, X = both the agent and the patient/experiencer), or (c) *get/be washed by someone* (passive, X = the patient). Many verbs in LMedG/EMG have mediopassive paradigms with middle-type meanings alongside, and sometimes instead of, passive ones. In suitably supporting contexts plural mediopassive forms may also be given a reciprocal interpretation in which two or more participants are understood to be both the agents and the patients/experiencers of the action in question.

(45) Active transitive verbs normally have a corresponding mediopassive paradigm. Use of the mediopassive forms involves demotion of the active subject (which is either suppressed or included as an agentive adjunct marked by ἀπό) and promotion of the active direct object to subject status.

With a few verbs, especially δίνω/δίδω "give" and synonyms, the indirect object may also be promoted to subject position (see example below).

The interpretation of the mediopassive subject, as fulfilling the single role of patient (passive reading) or the dual roles of agent + patient/experiencer (middle reading), is partly lexically determined and partly a matter of contextual determination. In the case of middle readings no agentive adjunct may be added.

Passive Reading

- ἀπῆλθεν με εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐκρατήθη μῆνας τέσσαρας
993, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 10, 124.13–14
- ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἐθλίβετον, μυριοκαταφρονᾶτον
16th c./14th c., *Velth.* 38
- ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἀναπνοῇ ... αἱ πράξεις τῶν ἀν(θρώπ)ων ζυγιάζονται καὶ δοκιμάζονται
16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 567–8
- ὅσα κανισκεύονται ... εἰς τὸν Θεόν, δὲν στρέφει ... τὴν ἀντίδοσιν τόσον εἰς
ἐκείνους ὅπου κανισκεύουν ὥς γιόν ἐκείνους ὅπου διδούνται
16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 390–2
- τοῦ ἤδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς μίαν λέπραν ..., ἀπὸ ἧτονε νὰ σαπηθῇ ὅλη του ἡ σάρκα
17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 56.20–2
- ἐπληροφόρηθη ἀπὸ πιστὸν Χριστιανόν
17th c., PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.71–2
- ἐρχομένη καμία ὑψηλοτάτην δικαιοσύνη, θέλωμε κριθεῖν
1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.14–15

Middle Reading

- σύντομα σηκωνόμεθαν
16th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* α 3087
- καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ισιάστηκεν μετὰ τὸν σεβαστοκράτωρ
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7971
- ἐγέρθηκα καὶ ἐντύθη
16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 124
- ἐπῆγεν ὁ Τζωρτζῆς καὶ εὔρεθην μετὰ τὸν σιρ Τουμάς
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 30.7–8
- ἡ ἀφεντία τῆς κυρᾶς ... γρικᾶται μετὰ τὴν κυρὰν τὴν ρήγαιναν
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 30.14–15
- ἐσυναπαντήθησαν μετὰ τὸν σουλτὰν Μπαγιαζίτη καὶ ἐνίκησε ὁ Μπαγιαζίτης
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.1–2

4.3 Mood

The morphologically encoded moods of LMedG/EMG are the indicative, the subjunctive (only partly distinct from the indicative even in writing, and regularly marked with *vá/ās*) and the imperative. Together these comprise the full set of finite verb forms. Complete paradigms of finite forms typically involve combinations of monolectic items with periphrastic ones, e.g. monolectic imperfect and aorist indicatives are used to refer to the past, but past-referring pluperfects are periphrastic, as are forms used to refer to the future (see 1.2 and for details on periphrastic forms III, 5).

Form and function do not correspond in a transparent fashion. The indicative is normally used to make statements about the real world, the subjunctive to express modal notions of futurity/possibility or necessity/obligation, and the imperative to give orders to a second person (the subjunctive fulfilling the corresponding roles for other persons). But autonomous modal verbs such as deontic *πρέπει* 'it is necessary' or epistemic *μπορεῖ/ἐνδέχεται* 'is possible/likely' have indicative forms despite being used to make modal statements. Similarly, infinitival periphrases with present indicative auxiliaries express futurity/

modality alongside *vá*-subjunctives, and infinitival periphrases with imperfect indicative auxiliaries describe hypothetical/counterfactual situations alongside bare imperfect indicatives or past-tense indicatives marked with modal *vá*. Furthermore, though the subjunctive carries an independent future/modal value when this contrasts with present- or past-time reference (e.g. in main, conditional or temporal clauses) or follows directly from the relevant function (e.g. in final clauses), in those subordinate clauses where it has replaced an infinitive (e.g. in grammaticalized future/modal auxiliaries (1.2.2), as a complement to other control verbs (2.2), or in temporal/causal adjuncts (3.4, Rule (36)), it expresses the lexical meaning of the relevant verb in a temporally and modally neutral way, with the relevant properties deriving instead from the lexical meaning of governing verbs (if any), which typically denote future aspirations and possibilities.

The issues are discussed in detail in Chapter 1, where the morphological and periphrastic forms associated with mood/modality are related to the making of statements (1.2), the issuing of commands and prohibitions (1.3), the asking of questions/issuing of exclamations (1.4), and the making of wishes (1.5).

4.4 Time Reference and Aspect

In LMedG/EMG time reference is a grammaticalized property of indicative verb forms (i.e. these are necessarily marked for it) when they are used in sentences that make statements or ask questions about the real world.

Locating events in time presupposes a temporal reference point, and in the default case this is taken to be the time of speaking/writing ('the present'): eventualities denoted by sentences may be located before this point ('in the past'), at this point ('in the present'), or after this point ('in the future'), as indicated by the choice of verbal morphology/verbal periphrasis. Though reference to the future is in principle treated on a par with reference to the past and present, the future cannot be a strictly factual domain and there is significant overlap in LMedG/EMG between forms that refer to the future and those that express various modal notions (see 1.2.2).

Sometimes an event may be marked as 'past' relative to another event that itself took place in the past or future with respect to the time of speaking/writing: pluperfects and future perfects perform this role in many languages, though these are rather marginal tenses in LMedG/EMG (see below). A secondary form of temporal relativity is involved in finite subordinate clauses dependent on main clauses containing verbs with past-time reference, cf. *he said that she would do X* with the corresponding direct statement *she will do X*. Such 'sequence of tense' phenomena are also relatively marginal in LMedG/EMG, where the tenses of the original statement, question etc. are usually preferred (see 2.1, Rule (22)).

Verbal aspect is also grammaticalized in LMedG/EMG, and in this case all verb forms are built either to a perfective or to an imperfective stem. In some periphrastic formations and non-finite forms, however, there is a clear tendency for one option to become dominant over time, with some consequential blurring of the usual aspectual contrast (see 1.2.2; 3.4, Rules (36) and (37)). There may also be some early indications of the loss of aspectual contrast in subjunctives in the Pontic region (see 4.4.5).

Unlike time reference, which is in principle an objective matter, choice of aspect reflects the speaker/writer's subjective "view" of a given eventuality without reference to its "actual" duration, whether in real/future time or in a possible/hypothetical world distinct from this one. Thus the same eventuality may be presented "perfectively" as a single complete whole with a beginning and an end (e.g. *the phone rang, will ring, may ring, would have rung*) or imperfectively as lacking one or both end-points, i.e. as continuing, progressing, habitual/repeated (e.g. *the phone was ringing, will be ringing, may be ringing, would have been ringing, used to ring*).

The choice of aspect is in principle free, though there are limitations deriving from the interaction of aspect with time reference (see below), and there are certain conventionalized preferences. In clauses of indefinite frequency (*whenever/each time X happened ...*), for example, the actions involved might be presented imperfectively (the sequence of recurring events is seen as open-ended) or perfectively (each individual action is seen as complete, leaving the open-endedness to be encoded in a co-occurring adverbial and/or a main-clause imperfective verb form). In LMedG/EMG there is a preference in these cases for perfective forms, while in MG imperfective forms have become the norm. In the following example the indefinitely repeated character of the action of the subordinate clause ("whenever I saw one") is made clear by the use of the imperfect in the main clause:

καὶ λάφιν δὲν μ' ἐγλύτωνεν, ... τὸ νὰ τὸ δῶ, τὸ δόξευα *Om. Nehr. Vas. 46-7*

The indicative "tenses" marked for both time reference and aspect are presented first. Forms unmarked for time reference (gerunds/participles and infinitives) or that carry inherent time reference (imperatives, future/modals and in part subjunctives and conditionals) are then considered in terms of their aspectual properties.

4.4.1 Present Indicative (Present Imperfective Indicative)

(46) Since the present moment is naturally conceived as progressing with the passage of time, the present indicative of lexically non-stative verbs in LMedG/EMG is built to the imperfective stem and used to describe activities that are viewed as ongoing/progressive at the present moment as it advances. Correspondingly, the present indicative of lexically stative verbs describes what is viewed as a state of the subject that continues to hold true as the present moment progresses; present states have a naturally characterizing quality for the period of their duration.

Progressive

ψεύδεται, φλυαρεῖ, μὴ τὸν πιστεύης! *13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 133*
 τί θλίβεσαι τοσούτως; οὐ ξεύρεις εἰς ἐριζικὸν κοίτεται ἡ στρατεία; κι ὅποιος ἐξεύρει
 μηχανίαν καὶ πράττει μὲ πονηρίαν τοὺς ἀντρεωμένους καταλυεῖ κ' ἐπαίρνει τὴν
 ἀντρίαν τους *14th c., Chron. Mor. H 4903-6*
 εἶναι ἀνάγκη πρὸ πάντων νὰ φροντίζετε τὴν παιδευσίν των καὶ τὰ ἥθη των, ... ἂν
 θέλετε νὰ ἔχουν τιμὴν ἐδῶ *1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.7-9*

Stative

οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ συμφωνοῦν *12th c./11th c., NIKON, Logos 9 316.14-15*
 σὲ ἀγαπῶ *16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 546.28-9*
 ἡ εὐγενεία σου εἶναι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ὥσπερ διοικητὴς τῶν παίδων μετὰ τοῦ
 Κριτοπούλου *1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.6*

NOTES

- (i) In informal styles, and usually where the context makes things clear (e.g. where there is a future-referring conditional clause), the present indicative may also be used to refer to the future:
 καὶ ἂν ἔχω ἐδῶ θανατωθῇν, τὴν κόρην οὐκ ἀφῆνω *15th-16th c./13th-14th c., Liv. α 2960*
 δὲ γιαίνεις ποτὲ ἀπὸ αὐτῆν τὴν πληγὴν, καημένε, μὰ ποθαίνεις, ἀνέν κι' αὐτὰ τὰ
 φαγητὰ δὲ φάγης νὰ χορτάσης *17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, Katz. III.89-91*
- (ii) In the absence of a present perfective paradigm, formally imperfective present indicatives are used to comment on events taking place sequentially before the speaker's/hearer's eyes (e.g. *the emperor arrives, takes his seat and nods to his officials*). In LMedG/EMG this type of "historic" present is chiefly apparent in narrative texts, where it converts an account of past events into just such an eyewitness commentary:
 ὡς ἔστεκα κ' ἐθώρουν τον, γυρίζει καὶ ὁμιλεῖ μου *16th c./15th c., Om. Nehr. Vas. 27*
 παρευθὺς ἀπαντονάρισεν ὅλες τὲς πρόσκαιρες δόξεις ... καὶ πορεύεται κρυφίως εἰς
 τὴν ἔρημον *17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas. 33.6-8*
- (iii) Performative verbs (utterance of which in the 1st person present indicative constitutes a performance of the relevant action) are similarly perfective in force but necessarily imperfective in form:
 ὅλα τὰ παραιτούμεθα *17th c., IOAKEIM KYPR., Pali 4762*
- (iv) In some of the earliest texts there are occasional examples of periphrases formed from the verb "to be" + the present mediopassive participle:
 εὐκολον ἔχουν τὸ νόημα διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ· οὐκ εἶν γὰρ οὔτε ἀπ' ἐμῆς
 γνώσεως λαλούμενα *12th c./11th c., NIKON, Logos 9 310.11-12*
- (47) The present tense of the verb "to be" + the perfect mediopassive participle is widely used in LMedG/EMG to express a present state of the subject. In this construction the participle is in effect a predicative adjective and as such agrees with the subject in the usual way (1.1.2).
 πολλὰ εἶσαι βαρεμένη *13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 304*
 εἵμεθεν θλιμμένοι *14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8419*
 εἶνε μισισμένος ἀποῦ 'ξ αὐτῆς μας! *16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 252.30*
 ἐγὼ εἶμαι σκοτωμένος *16th c., Diig. Alex. F 264.3 (Lolos)*

ἐκεῖ πού εἶναι ἐνταφιασμένες καὶ οἱ δύο τῆς θυγατέρες

1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 436, 659.11-12

τὸ ὄνομά του εἶναι τιμημένο εἰς ἓνα βασιλικὸ χρυσόβουλλον

18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 18.6-7

NOTES

- (i) Correspondingly, the imperfect of "be" may be used to describe a past state of the subject:

ἦμουν στολισμένη

17th c., BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 180.18

- (ii) Less commonly, the present or past state of a direct object may be encoded using ἔχω/ εἶχα + perfect passive participle, which agrees with the object:

τὸν γρόθον του εἰς τὸ μάγουλον εἶχεν ἀκουμπισμένον

15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 418

Such examples tend to have a rather literal meaning in the earlier part of the period of this Grammar, but in certain areas they subsequently acquire the function of a true perfect/pluperfect, almost certainly in part under the influence of Romance after 1204:

στὴ βλέψη τῆς ἐτουνης τὴν εἶχας δοσμένη

18th c./16th-17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.433

Following the grammaticalization of the construction, the participle is sometimes inflected invariably as a neuter plural (see 4.4.4).

- (48) The present indicative is used to describe activities/states viewed as habitual or characteristic of the subject at *any* present moment in the progression of time (making these activities/states, in effect, timeless).

The relevant activity might be viewed perfectly (the action is seen as a single complete event on each occasion) or imperfectly (there is no bound on the number of such events), but in the absence of a present perfective paradigm the imperfective present is necessarily used.

ὅταν ὁ κόραξ πούποτε καθίσῃ καὶ φωνάξῃ, ἐκεῖ σημαίνει θάνατον καὶ χωρισμόν

ἄθροον

13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 20-1

ὅπου ἔχει ἀμέριμνον ψυχὴν, ὅπου ἔνι χορτασμένος ποτὲ οὐ πιστεύει νηστικόν, ποτὲ

οὐ ψυχοπονᾶται

13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 117-18

ὁ Χάρων δὲν ἐντρέπεται οὐδ' ἄρχον οὐδὲ ρήγα

16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekl. Vas.* 81

4.4.2 Imperfect Indicative (Past Imperfective Indicative)

- (49) The imperfect indicative is used to describe actions that are viewed as ongoing/progressive in the past (non-stative verbs), states that are viewed as persisting over time in the past (stative verbs), or actions that are viewed as habitual/characterizing in the past; past states naturally characterize the subject for the period of their duration.

Progressive

ἄστραπτε κατ' ἀνατολάς, ὅταν ἐγεννήθη

16th c./14th-15th c., Spanos D 116-17

ἐβγαίνασιν (λόγια) ἀπὸ τὰ στόματά των

16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Thrinis* 7

Stative

ἀγαποῦσαν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ εὐσέβειαν ἐποθοῦσαν

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 117

πάντα σ' ἐμίσουν

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 574.17-18

Habitual

εἰς τὸ νησιν εὐρίσκετον ... ναὸς ἀρχαῖος ..., ἐνθα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἤρχοντο, θυσίας

ἀποτελοῦσαν

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1723-5

ἐγὼ ἀγαποῦσα νὰ παραπονιέσαι

18th c., *Don Kis.* 47.16

NOTES

- (i) There are examples from Crete of the imperfect used to describe an action that did not produce the hoped-for results:

μὲ ἄλλη μου ἔγραφα τῆς πανιερότη σου νὰ μοῦ ἀγοράσῃ πενήντα τάβλες

1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.2-3

ἐπροήγραφα τῆς πανιερότη σου, μὰ λογιᾶζω νὰ μὴν τοῖς ἔλαβες

1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.9-10

(= "tried to write", incomplete in that the message was not received/acted on)

- (ii) Use of the imperfect indicative in conditional sentences is dealt with in 1.2.2, Rule (11) and NOTES; 3.3.
- (iii) In 16th/17th-c. Crete and Cyprus, where the pluperfect was more regularly formed with εἶχα + perfect passive participle (see 4.4.4), there is a corresponding use of what are otherwise past-tense conditional periphrases to express habitual actions ("whenever s/he did X ...") rather than relative temporal anteriority ("when s/he had done X ..."), as shown by the restriction of such indicative use to cases where the main verb is a habitual imperfective:

ὡς εἶχε βάλειν εἰς τὸ νοῦ καὶ ὡς ἤθελε λογιάσει ποιά στράτα μέλλει νὰ κρατῇ ...,

χολικιασμένη ἐπόμενε

18th c./16th-17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.2091-5

ντὰν νὰ ᾔχεν βάλειν ἄνθρωπον κάτω νὰ ᾔχεν παιδεύγει, τοὺς δελοιποὺς τὸ αἵμάν

τοὺς ἀρχίνιζεν νὰ φεύγῃ

17th-18th c./17th c., KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 265-6

4.4.3 Aorist Indicative (Past Perfective Indicative)

- (50) The aorist indicative denotes eventualities in past time that are viewed as single complete wholes (i.e. with a beginning and an end, and the middle largely elided).

Much of the interpretation depends on the lexical character of individual verbs. Thus activities and states viewed perfectly are naturally interpreted as having ended (e.g. *X ran (a mile)*, *X ruled (till he died)*), processes with inherent culminations as having attained them (e.g. *X melted*, *X grew up*), achievements as punctual events (*X arrived (at 9.15)*), etc. But the perfective forms of stative verbs may also be used to denote what are viewed as momentary events initiating the relevant state (e.g. ἀγάπησε = "X fell in love", ἐβασίλευσε = "X became emperor").

ἀφότου ἀπεκατέστησεν μισὲρ Ντζεφρὲς ἐκεῖνος τὰ πάντα ὅλα πράγματα ..., τόσα
τὸν ἀγαπήσασιν ... ὅτι βουλήν ἀπήρασιν ..., τὸ πῶς νὰ τοῦ ἔμεινε ἡ ἀφεντία τοῦ
τόπου τοῦ Μορέως 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2098–104

ὁ πάπας δὲν τὸ ἔβησεν, ἀμμέ ἔμηνυσεν τοῦ
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 26.12–13

τοῦτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι ... ἐκουρσεῦγαν καὶ ἐσκοτῶναν, καὶ ἔποικαν μεγάλα κακὰ εἰς τὸ
νησίον 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 60.10–12

ἀφέντεψεν, ἀφ' ὃν ἔστέφθην ὥς που καὶ ἔπέθανεν, λθ' χρόνους καὶ δ' μῆνες καὶ κδ'
ἡμέρες, καὶ ἔπέθανεν ἡμέρα πέμπτη τὴν ὕστερη μαρτίου, ατκδ' Χριστοῦ εἰς τὸν
Στρόβιλον 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 58, 60.36, 1–3

ἐσὺ μ' ἐντρόπιαζες τόσους χρόνους, κ' ἐγάμεις τὴ μάνα μου καὶ ποτέ μου δὲ σοῦ εἶπα
τίποτας κ' ἐσύ, γιὰ μία βολὰ πού ἐγάμησα τὴ γυναῖκα σου, κάνεις ἔτσι;
16th c., *Nov. I* 156.14–16

ὁ μπάρμπας τοῦ παιδίου ὠνείδισε τὸν γέρον κ' εἶπε τοῦ " ... ὅ,τι ἄρχισε, ἐμένα ποτέ
δὲ μοῦ τὸ ἐμολόγησε", κ' ἔτσι ἀγκαλιάστη κ' ἐφίλησε τὸ παιδί του, κ' ἔμειναν
ἀγαπημένοι 16th c., *Nov. I* 156.19–22

ἔδέχθη τὸν λόγον ... καὶ ... ἔστειλεν ἑξοδες καὶ κάτεργα ὁ πάπας, διατὶ εἶχεν πολλὴν
ἐπιθυμίαν νὰ γένη ἡ ἔνωσις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἔσοντας ὅπου πολλὰς φορὲς τὸ
ἐβουλήθησαν ..., καὶ δὲν ἐδυνήθησαν νὰ τὸ κατορθώσουν
17th c./16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1631) 229.39–43

μὰς ἀποδέχθηκε καὶ ἀγκαλίσαν ὁ πριντζιπὸς μας, καὶ ἔτσι πάντα ἐδῶ ἔζησαμεν εἰς
εἰρήνη, ὥστε πού ὁ ἐχθρὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νὰ σπεῖρη τὸ ζιζάνιο
1614, Tinos, *HOFMANN* 1936: 1, 58.6–9

NOTES

- (i) Use of the aorist indicative in conditional sentences is dealt with in 1.2.2, Rule (11) NOTE (i); 3.3.
- (ii) In the absence of a properly developed perfect indicative for much of the period covered by this Grammar (see below), the aorist may be used in contexts where a perfect meaning seems appropriate:

τὸν ἥλιον εἶδα νὰ σταθῇ χίλιες φορὲς γροικώντας τὰ πάθη μου
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.71–2

ἐγὼ δὲν εἶδα νὰ σταθῇ τὸν ἥλιο νὰ μ' ἀκούσῃ, μὰ εἶδα χαράκια καὶ δεντρὰ πολλὰ
ν' ἀνασπαστοῦσι, νὰ φεύγου γιὰ νὰ μὴ γροικοῦ τ' ἀναστενάματά μου
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Panor.* I.73–5

- (iii) The aorist is also widely used where a pluperfect might have been employed, the notion of anteriority being inherent in the typically sequential nature of complete events; thus the event described in a subordinate clause is naturally taken to precede that described in a main clause if the latter also contains an aorist ("when X, then Y"):

ἀφότου ἐκατόρθωσεν ὅσα σὰς ἀφηγοῦμαι ... τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐπαρέδωκεν κὶ
ἀπῆραν τὸ οἱ ἀγγέλοι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7801–4

ἀφὸν ἐφάγαν καὶ ἐπαρδιαβάσαν, ἐκατέβησαν κάτω εἰς τὴν αὐλήν
16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 44.9

ἐστόντα τάπισα καὶ ἐβγάλαν τὸν ἔξω ἀπὸ τὸν πύργον, ὁ βασιλιάς ἐποίκεν νὰ τὸν
μάθουσιν τὴν ἀγίαν πίστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ 16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 150.14–16

4.4.4 Perfect, Pluperfect and Future Perfect Indicatives

The ancient monolectic perfect had fallen together functionally with the aorist long before the medieval period, and aorists (sometimes derived from earlier perfects, e.g. βρήκα/ἤρηνκα) could always be used thereafter to imply the "present relevance" of a past event whenever the context supported or demanded such a reading. The monolectic pluperfect was not much used even in AG and it too withered away before the period of this Grammar, leaving the aorist as the default means of denoting events anterior to past events (see 4.4.3, Rule (50) NOTE (iii)). Since the future perfect barely existed in AG (most verbs do not have an attested paradigm), the only productive survivor of the ancient perfect system was the perfect passive participle, which could be used predicatively with different tenses of εἶμαι to express a state of the subject, or more rarely with different tenses of ἔχω as an object complement to express a state of the direct object (see Rule (47) and NOTES).

Other than in S. Italy (where Latin/Romance influence was always present), periphrastic forms with the authentic pluperfect force of temporal anteriority begin to appear only in the later medieval period, and it is hard not to see this development as driven in part by the advent of widespread bilingualism following the influx of Romance speakers into the Greek-speaking world after the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204.

One form of Romance-style pluperfect, attested from ca. 15th c. onwards and quickly associated with a corresponding perfect, was based on the ἔχω/εἶχα + perfect passive participle construction, the latter element sometimes retaining agreement with the direct object, but also inflected as an invariable neuter plural in the wake of the reinterpretation and grammaticalization of the forms, e.g. *I have/had a tree (that is/was) planted in the garden* > *I have/had planted a tree in the garden*, etc. Though in principle available only with transitive verbs, it was quickly extended to "unergative" intransitives (i.e. those denoting simple activities), using newly invented participles such as ἀποφασισμένος; in this case the neuter plural ending is standard, but this is also partially generalized to transitive verbs on Crete and some southern Aegean islands. A passive is formed using εἶμαι + perfect passive participle, and this combination is also used as a perfect/pluperfect active with deponent verbs and "unaccusative" intransitives (i.e. those denoting transitions to a result location, such as "come/go"), once again with innovative formations such as ἐλθωμένος etc. The resulting creation of a "be/have" auxiliary split is highly characteristic of Romance, and

throughout the period of this Grammar the participial construction remains most characteristic of southern regions that were long under Western rule (e.g. Heptanese, Crete, Rhodes Cyprus), with only limited spread to the mainland, and not to northern areas.

- ἐβλεπεν ὁ ἄγγελος, ὥς ἦτον τεταγμένος 15th c., *Anak.Konst.* 112
 τὸ ἐμισὸν ἔχομεν βαλμένον εἰς τὴν πακτωσίαν 1506, Patmos, MALTEZOU 1970: 2, 367.172
 μᾶς ἔχει δοσμένα καὶ πουλημένα ... ἀμπέλιν 1547, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 25, 65.3
 εἶναι μισημένος ἀπὸ τῆς Ρώμης 1570, Venice, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 9, 482.3
 εἶχαμε μιλημένα γὰρ τὸ γάμο 17th c./16th–17th c., *Vosk.* 400

The other main type of pluperfect starts to appear a little earlier and derives from the probably Romance-inspired reinterpretation of conditional periphrases in the protases of hypothetical/counterfactual conditionals as denoting anteriority vis-à-vis the apodosis (see 3.3 for details); e.g. a conditional with the literal meaning “if I would find the money, I would spend it” (the LMedG/EMG construction was originally atemporal) > “if I would have found the money ...” > “if I *had* found the money ...”, with the notion of anteriority then extended to real-time subordinate clauses (e.g. “when I had found the money ...”) and then to main clauses (e.g. “I had found the money (by the time the bill arrived)”). This type of pluperfect quickly becomes widespread and is ordinarily based on the εἶχα-periphrasis with perfective infinitive, though in southern areas there are also examples of the ἤθελα-periphrasis used as a pluperfect. The construction acquires a corresponding perfect very late, at the end of the 17th c.

- εἶχαν τὸν κόψει κακὰ καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν 15th c./13th c., *Assizes B* 267.11–12
 ἔβαλαν τὸν βασιλέαν ἐκεῖνον εἰς τὸ σκαμνὶ ... ὅπου τὸ εἶχεν χάσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 622–3

NOTES

- (i) In southern areas from around the 16th c. onwards, the conditional infinitival periphrasis with ἤθελα is also sometimes used as a pluperfect:
 λέγοντες πὼς τὸ ἤθελαν χάσει πρώην 1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008. 5, 58.5–6
- (ii) In Crete there is evidence (specifically from Kornaros) that conditional periphrases could also be used as habituais in generic subordinate clauses (cf. the dual use of English *would*); note the habitual imperfect in the corresponding main clause:
 τὸ ἔχα ξυπνήσει, ἐφώνιαζα 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.995

It is unclear whether such examples should be translated “whenever/wherever/whoever someone would/used to X” or “... had X”.

- (iii) Particularly, if not exclusively, in regions where both types of pluperfect co-existed, the participial construction retains a more stative character, in line with its origins.

A further type of pluperfect is more sporadically attested, formed from the past tense of “to be” and the perfective gerund. This formation is characteristic of S. Italy, the

Peloponnese and adjacent islands such as Cythera, and may represent a local modernization of the corresponding ancient construction that used the aorist participle (which agreed with the subject in number, gender and case). It never gained ground geographically and declines with the general decline of the perfective gerund (3.4, Rule (37)).

- ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ ἅπαντες οἱ πελεργῖνοι ἐκεῖνοι, ὅπου ἦσαν ἐπάροντα τὸν σταυρόν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 390–1

Even more restricted in its distribution is a variant using εἶχα + perfective or imperfective gerund, apparently without any clear aspectual contrast.

The future perfect is almost exclusively a non-literary tense and is often used in legal contexts for precision, once again most probably under the influence of corresponding Romance practice in which grammatical marking of the sequencing of events in both past and future time is routine. The majority of attested forms are futures of the ἔχω + perfect passive participle periphrasis, formed chiefly with (ἐ)θέλω (e.g. θέλω ἔχειν) X V-μένο/-μένη etc.); conditional ἤθελα in the same construction is a very clear marker of the legalese register.

- νὰ ῥμαι κρατημένος νὰ τῆς δίδω ὅ,τι ροῦχα ... τῆς ἤθελα ἔχει καμωμένα 1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 211, 166.10–12
 νὰ χάνη τὴν δούλευσὶ τοῦ ὅπου θέλει ἔχει δουλεμένη 1571, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 1, 53. 10–11

The various auxiliaries used in these LMedG/EMG periphrases either lack perfective stems altogether (εἶμαι, ἔχω) or do not make use of them in this role (e.g. the aorist of (ἐ)θέλω is never used as an auxiliary). Any aspectual contrast must therefore derive from the element with which they combine, viz. the perfect passive participle, infinitive or gerund. But of these only infinitives and gerunds can in principle be marked for aspect, and even here the usual perfective/imperfective contrast applies only in part (see 1.2.2 for the conditional periphrases; 3.4, Rules (36) and (37) for infinitives and gerunds, on which cf. also immediately below). Since the various members of the perfect system, unlike all other indicatives, do not engage fully, or in some cases at all, with the otherwise universal perfective/imperfective opposition, it is unsurprising that they occupy a rather marginal position in the overall verbal paradigm of LMedG/EMG and play a similarly marginal role syntactically. The participial perfects, pluperfects and future perfects at least retain a distinctive role with their continuing (if partial) stative function, but the pluperfects formed with infinitives and gerunds are almost exclusively perfective in form and function principally as temporally more pedantic variants of the aorist (indicative or future/subjunctive according to whether time reference is to the past or the future).

For further examples and more detailed discussion of the formations discussed above see III, 5.

4.4.5 Future/Conditionals, Subjunctives and Imperatives

Aspect in infinitival conditional periphrases is discussed above in connection with the reinterpretation of certain forms as pluperfects; aspect in both future and conditional periphrases in their original functions is dealt with fully in 1.2.2. The role of aspect in imperatives is discussed in 1.3, and in subjunctives in their various functions in 1.2.2, 1.3, 1.5,

2.2, and 2.3; and Chapter 3 *passim*. In all cases apart from the infinitival future and conditional periphrases and pluperfects deriving from the latter, the perfective/imperfective opposition is fully operational, with relevant forms built to both stems.

Future time reference is an inherent property of imperatives, and in part of future/modal and conditional forms – but not when these are being used in a purely modal way to denote possible/hypothetical situations outside the temporal structure of the “real world”, or in lieu of infinitives to denote actions conceived without reference to time. Thus conditionals are normally modal but are also used, albeit rarely, as “real” futures-in-the-past, i.e. to denote events in the future relative to a past-time reference point:

ἐβλεπεν εἰς ὄνειρατα ὅπου ἐμελλε νὰ γίνονται 16th c., *Vios Iosif*. 270.2–3

ἐθάρρου πὼς εἶχασιν οἱ ἔγνοιες μου νὰ πάψου 17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Erof*. IV 160–1

Similarly, subjunctives complementing control predicates (2.2) are not themselves future-referring, but they are also used to refer to the “real” future in main clauses (1.2.2, Rule (7)) and some subordinate clauses (3.4), as well as to give commands (1.3, Rule (13)).

NOTES

- (i) There are some possible examples in documents from the Pontic region of the generalized (and so aspectually neutral) use of imperfective subjunctives; this usage later became the norm in that area, though perfective forms are still very much in use in the period of this Grammar:

ἐὰν ἔρκεστιν, ἐλάτε με τοῦ Κορέλλι τὸν ἀποκριχάρη, καὶ κανεῖς μὴ σᾶς γνώσῃ, καὶ ἐλάτε νὰ σᾶς συντύχω ἀπὸ στομάτου μου 1481, *Crimea, GRASSO* 1880: 119, 168–9.5–7

4.4.6 Gerunds and Participles

- (51) Gerunds are active in form (even from deponent verbs) and are built to either the imperfective or perfective stem; the former usually marks eventualities overlapping with the action described by the main verb, the latter eventualities preceding it, in accordance with their aspectual properties (i.e. in the default case an eventuality viewed as ongoing is taken to be contemporaneous with the main-clause event, one viewed as complete as preceding it).

Perfective forms are in decline in LMedG/EMG and the forms attested increasingly come from a small number of verbs with strong aorist stems whose ending -οντας coincides with the productive imperfective ending; weak aorist -σοντας is hard to find beyond the clichéd περάσοντας with temporal subject. Imperfective forms are then used with perfective as well as imperfective force.

For other aspects of gerundial syntax see 3.4.4.2, Rule (37).

Imperfective Force (imperfective forms)

ὁ καστελλᾶνος παρευτὺς, οὐ μὴ σκοπῶντα δόλον, εἶπεν καὶ ὑποσχέθη του νὰ τὸν δεχτῇ εἰς τὸ κάστρον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8237–8

σιμώνοντας ἡ ὥρα νὰ γεννηθῇ ὁ Χριστός, ἦλθεν ἀπὸ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς μέγα φῶς 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 329.7–8

φαίνοντάς τους δίκαιαν καὶ τιμημένη ... ἡ αὐτὴ σούπλικα 1561, *Zakynthos, KONOMOS* 1969a: 1, 35.7–9

πᾶσα γνωστικός ἄνθρωπος, δὲ κατέχοντας πότες ἔχει νὰ τοῦ ἔλθῃ αὐτὸς ὁ θάνατος, πρέπει καὶ τυχαίνει νὰ ὀρδινιαστῇ 1598, *Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 14, 35.5–6

ἔρχοντάς μου εἰς τὸ Χτῆμαν ἦρτεν ὁ Χακῆ-Αὐγουστής 1619, *Cyprus, PERDIKIS* 1998: 1, 3.10

κάθοντά σου εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν, γελᾶς ἡ συντυχαίνεις; 17th c., *Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU* 1983: A, 406.389

Perfective Force (both perfective and imperfective forms)

διαβόντα γὰρ μικρὸς καιρὸς ἀπέθανε ἡ κουντέσσα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8001

διαβαίνοντα ὀλίγες ἡμέρες, ἐσηκωθήσαν ἀπὲ τὸ σπιτάλλιν φρέρδες 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 4.3–4

γρικῶντα ἡ μάνα του, ὀρδινίασεν τὸ φᾶν του εἰς τὴν ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 46.15–16

τὴν ἑτερην ... νὰ τήνε μοιράζουν ... ὁ υἱὸς του ... με τὸν ἀγκονά του ..., ἀποτυχόντας (σ)του τοῦ προειρημένου κυρ Ἀλίσαντρου 1579, *Kefalonia, ZAPANDI* 2001a: 5, 23.14–16

ἀποθανόντας τοῦ καλογέρου, ν' ἀπομένη τὸ λεγόμενο ἀμπέλι στὰ παιδιὰ τοῦ ἄνωθεν Λιγνοῦ 1600, *Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 92, 108.10–11

περάσοντας ὀλίγος καιρὸς, ἐμάζωξε τὰ φουσσᾶτα του 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 34.11

ιδόντας ὁ Μπαγιαζίτης ὅτι νικᾶται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκθροῦ του ..., ἐσκιᾶκτη μήπως καὶ ἔλθῃ ὁ Σακοῦκος ὁ Περσιάνος 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.23–5

ἐκεῖνος ... δὲν ἔμπορεῖ νὰ μάθῃ τὴν φύσιν ἐκείνων ὅπου δὲν εἶναι καὶ δὲν μαθαίνοντάς τα, δὲν ἔμπορεῖ νὰ τὰ ἰδῇ καλὰ 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 34. 32–5

- (52) Perfect passive participles are used in periphrases with εἶμαν/ἔχω throughout the medieval period with stative force: no perfective/imperfective contrast can be expressed.

In the period from ca. 15th c. onwards this construction is increasingly grammaticalized in southern areas as a true perfect/pluperfect, albeit with the stative function partly retained (see above on perfect, pluperfect and future perfect indicatives for relevant examples).

- (53) All other inflected participles, active and mediopassive, are marked systematically for the perfective/imperfective opposition; but these forms are residual in LMedG/EMG and employed primarily as “higher” stylistic variants of the gerund or in clichéd phrases.

Participles may have overt subjects or empty subject positions referentially controlled by the subject of the main verb. Overt subjects may be either nominative (the norm) or genitive

(in deference to the ancient genitive absolute construction), but with no requirement that the subject-participle combination should be a true absolute construction with its subject referentially independent of all noun phrases in the main clause.

Clitic pronouns in subject function are standardly inflected in the genitive in the absence of weak nominative pronouns that could be used in this position.

In all but the most classicizing styles, the syntax of participles reflects that of gerunds in that participial subjects must be either referentially autonomous or subject-orientated (i.e. if it is to be coreferential with a main-clause constituent, this can only be the subject).

See 3.4.4.2, Rule (37) for examples.

4.4.7 Infinitives

(54) Active and mediopassive infinitives are marked for aspect, but in several infinitival constructions one aspect stem is favoured over the other (sometimes exclusively so) with a corresponding loss in the formal expression of aspectual contrast.

In LMedG/EMG infinitives are used regularly only in:

- grammaticalized future/conditional and pluperfect periphrases (1.2.2, and cf. above on pluperfects)
- the VPs of subordinate clauses as a variant form of complement to control, modal and aspectual verbs (2.2)
- one form of indirect question (2.4, Rule (31) NOTE (ii))
- as nominalized sentence adjuncts with a temporal/causal function similar to that of gerunds (3.4, Rule (36); 3.8)

Loss of aspectual contrast applies in particular to:

- the grammaticalized periphrases (see 1.2.2 for futures/conditionals; infinitives in pluperfects are almost always perfective, cf. above)
- the complements to aspectual verbs (imperfective only)
- the nominalized adverbials corresponding to temporal/causal clauses (perfective only)

In all these surviving infinitival constructions the subject position is referentially controlled by the main-verb subject.

Other than in styles admitting high levels of learned/classicizing influence, infinitival constructions that allowed overt (accusative) subjects in AG are no longer employed.

Infinitives may no longer be negated in their own right and only the governing verb can have a negative particle.

Complement to Control Verbs

εἴτις δὲ βουλευθῇ κατελῦσαι τὸ παρὸν γράμμα, νὰ ἐνὶ ἀσυγχώρητος

14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.14–15

Complement to Modal/Aspectual Verbs

ἐκίνησαν τὰ σάλια μου, Χριστέ, νὰ τὴν ἐπιάσῃ, ... νὰ ῥεξάμην ρουκανίζειν

14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 219–21

λέγει καὶ διερμηνεύει τὸ πῶς ὁ λίζιος ἄνθρωπος χρεωστεῖ ποιῆσαι τοῦτο

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7570–1

In Indirect Questions

τὸ τί ποιήσει οὐκ εἶχασιν

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4084

Adverbial (temporal/causal)

τὸ ἰδεῖ τὸν ὁ μιστὶρ Ντζεφρές, γλυκέα τὸν ἀποδέχτη

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8231

For further examples see the various sections noted above.

5 Nouns and Noun Phrases

A Noun Phrase (NP) in LMedG/EMG consists of a "head" noun or pronoun in construction with any complements it may require (see 5.2) and/or any optional adjuncts (see 5.1.4, Rule (69), and 5.3). NPs are the constituents of sentences used to refer to extralinguistic entities, and therefore nouns/pronouns are normally the heads of NPs even when they appear alone without complementation or modification.

Nominal expressions are characterized by values for the categories of *person* (1, 2, 3), *number* (singular, plural), *gender* (masculine, feminine, neuter) and *case* (nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive; and residually, dative). Head nouns/pronouns share the values assigned to these categories with the NPs containing them, and any adjuncts that are capable of bearing the appropriate morphological marking (articles, demonstratives, quantifiers, adjectives) agree with the heads they modify in number, gender and case; there is no formal marking of agreement in person. Complements, however, do not agree and are assigned specific grammatical markers by their heads as detailed in 5.2.

Person is a deictic category, i.e. one involving reference to extralinguistic entities. Its values are determined from the viewpoint of the speaker/writer as the 1st person, making the audience/reader the 2nd person(s) and any other participants in the discourse the 3rd person(s). Pronouns may be 1st, 2nd or 3rd person, but nouns are 3rd person unless the NPs containing them appear in apposition to 1st- or 2nd-person pronouns, and vocatives are inherently linked to 2nd-person pronouns, whether overt or covert; honorific circumlocutions such as *ἡ εὐγενεία σου/σας* etc. are also often treated as 2nd person.

NPs referring to countable objects are headed by count nouns, and their number is determined by whether the objects in question are "one" (singular) or "more than one" (plural); singular is the default number for NPs headed by non-count nouns, e.g. a mass noun like *ἄμμος* or an abstract noun like *δικαιοσύνη*. There is no compelling evidence for the use of the 2nd person plural to address individuals as a mark of politeness, for which circumlocutions of the type "your excellency" are regularly used instead (see above): note that the use of a plural possessive pronoun with a singular head noun in such cases typically involves more than one addressee, as *ὅλοι ἀντάμα* in the example below makes clear:

ἡ εὐγενεία σας ὅλοι ἀντάμα θέλετε ἀποκαταστήσει τίς νά ἀπομείνῃ
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 286.22-3

The occasional anaphoric use of 3 sg. pronouns in connection with these circumlocutions is partly a matter of the flexibility of the grammar of anaphora, but may also reflect contemporary Romance practice:

ἡ παροῦσα μου ταπεινὴ δὲν εἶναι διὰ ἄλλην αἰτίαν πάρεξ νά τῆς ἀναγγείλω
(= τῆς μακαριότητάς σου) 1658, Cyprus, TSIRPANLIS 1973: 106, 160.5-7

Monarchs *vel sim.* may employ the 1st person plural of themselves:

ἐμεῖς ... ρήγας τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ... λαλοῦμεν ὅσοι μᾶς γροικοῦσιν τῆς αὐτῆς γραφῆς
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 54.23-5

First- and second-person pronouns have no inherent/grammatical gender. Those denoting humans are standardly treated as masculine or feminine according to the biological sex of the individual(s) involved; 1st- and 2nd-person pronouns may also be treated as neuter when the relevant individuals would be denoted in the 3rd person by a neuter NP, e.g. 1st-person *ἐμεῖς* when used by anthropomorphic ζῶα in an allegory etc. Unlike 1st- and 2nd-person pronouns, 3rd-person pronouns have distinct masculine, feminine and neuter forms. The gender of those with *deictic* function is also closely associated with biological sex, i.e. masculine or feminine for humans, neuter for everything else. By contrast, the gender of *anaphoric* 3rd-person pronouns normally follows that of their antecedents, e.g. neuter plural *αὐτά/τά* referring back to neuter plural *τὰ κορίτσια* etc. In the event of gender conflict (e.g. in coordinated expressions), masculine is the default choice for pronouns referring back to mixed-gender NPs denoting humans, provided that at least one is male:

νέους καὶ νῆς ἀνύπανδρους, γιατί νά τοὺς ἐπάρῃς; 16th c., GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 89

Neuter is selected for those referring to mixed-gender NPs denoting non-humans/inanimates:

ὁ θυμὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία, διατί αὐτάνα ἐγενήκασιν ἀπὸ τὸν δημιουργὸν ... σύντροφοι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.6-7

By contrast, grammatical gender is an inherent property of nouns. There are partial correlations between particular genders and particular declensional classes/subclasses, and nouns denoting male or female human beings are often assigned masculine or feminine gender accordingly (see Part II for details), but the grammatical gender of common nouns is for the most part semantically arbitrary.

The case of a NP is determined by the grammatical and/or semantic function it carries within a sentence (see 5.1 for details).

5.1 Uses of the Cases

5.1.1 Nominative

(55) The nominative is the case of the subjects of finite verb forms (whether overt or omitted), and of the nominal/adjectival complements of copular verbs, which agree with their associated subjects in (number and) case: see also 1.1.

ᾠδύνες τὴν καρδίαν μου κατέτρωναν μερίμνων ?12th c. or 13th-14th c., *Eisit.* f.8r.3-4

ἔστράφησαν εἰς τὴν Φραγκίαν τινὲς πλεῖστοι κλερᾶδες 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 514

σκοτεινιάζει με τὸ σπίτιν τοῦ γειτόνου 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 593

With Subject Complements

αὐτὲς ἐνὶ οἷ ὑπόληψες τῶν πρωτινῶν ἀνθρώπων 16th c./15th c., LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 606

ἀποῦ ἀγαπᾷ τὴν ψεματινὴν δόξαν, [_{3sg.} ∅] ἐνι φουμιστῆς τοὺς παιγνιδοφουμιστάδες
16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 131.14–15

ἂν [_{2sg.} ∅] εἶσαι Χρυσταλλένη, μηδὲν εἶναι ἡ καρδιά σου διαμαντένη
16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 92.12–13

- (56) The nominative is the case of the omitted subjects of infinitives and gerunds/participles that are controlled by the subject of the main verb (as confirmed by nominative subject complements); see also 2.2, Rules (25) and (29), 3.4, Rules (36) and (37), Chapter 4, Rules (51)–(54).

Infinitive

πῶς ... νὰ [_{3sg.} ∅] καταδέξεται [_{3sg.} ∅] γενεῖ εἰς αὐτοὺς καπετᾶνος;
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 233–6

ἐκεῖνοι ἐκάτελαβαν, [_{3pl.} ∅] τὸ λάβει τὰ πιττάκια
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7855

Gerund

ὁ καστελλᾶνος παρευτῆς, [_{3sg.} ∅] οὐ μὴ σκοπῶντα δόλον, ... ὑποσχέθη του νὰ τὸν δεχτῇ
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8237–8

- (57) The nominative is the default case of the overt subjects of nominalized infinitives with adverbial function and of gerunds/participles in absolute constructions.

But weak pronominal subjects are genitive in the absence of nominative clitics, and there is some wider use of genitive subjects in higher registers; see also 3.4, Rules (36) and (37); Chapter 4, Rules (51)–(54).

Infinitive

τὸ ἀκούσει ὁ Ροῦσος ντὲ Σουλή ..., εὐθέως ἐσυγκατέβηκεν κ' ἰσιάστησαν εἰς τοῦτο
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7927–8

Gerund

καὶ γροικῶντα κάτινες καβαλλάριδες πιστοὶ τοῦ ρηγός, εἶπαν τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦ ρηγός
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 42.33–4

Genitive Subjects

καθεζομένης τῆς Ἀφεντίας, ὑπῆγε καὶ ἐπροσκύνησεν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ γράμμα τοῦ μπάιλου τοῦ Γαλατᾶ ἔδειξεν
16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 15–17

ἔρχοντάς μου εἰς τὸ Χτῆμαν ἦρτεν ὁ Χακη-Αὐγουστής
1619, Cyprus, *PERDIKIS* 1998: 1, 3.10

NOTE

- (i) The nominative is also not infrequently used as a default case for loosely connected topics that are linked referentially rather than syntactically (i.e. by case agreement) to elements in the following clause:

οἱ Φράγκοι γὰρ ἐκ τὴν στερεὰν ἦτον ὁ πόλεμός τους
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 546

ἡ παρθένος Μαρία τε Λουζουνία ..., ἐρμάσαν την
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 58.32–3

5.1.2 Vocative

- (58) The vocative is the case of NPs used to address people or things.

Vocative NPs may be used alone to attract the addressee's attention or more usually may appear as adjuncts to sentences whose content the speaker/writer wishes to draw to the addressee's attention.

ψυχὴ μου κακοτύχερε, μίαν ἐχάρης ὥραν καὶ λύπη διεδέξατο ἄπαυστος τὴν χαρὰν σου
13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 196–7

κερά, κερά μαγκίπισσα, τὸ πῶς ἀκούεις οὐκ οἶδα
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 172

πρίγκιπα, ἐσὺ θεωρεῖς κ' ἐβλέπεις τὸ ἀτός σου
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4222

ὦ βραχιόνιοι σιδηροὶ καὶ στήθη μαρμαρένια, καὶ ποῖα γῆ σᾶς ἐκρυψεν καὶ ἐκατεκάλυψέ σας;
15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 3392–3

γὰ μίλειε, χάιδаре, ὁμορφα γῆ ἔρχομαι νὰ σοῦ βγάλω τὰ γένια σου!
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Katz.* III.461–2

NOTE

- (i) The nominative is sometimes used in place of the vocative, usually with the definite article and/or in apposition to a preceding vocative, implying an equative meaning ("you/X, (who are) the Y"):

τί 'ναι ἐκεῖνα, ὁ θεῖος μου ...;
15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 759

ἐξέβης, ἡ κυρ' ἄλωποῦ, νὰ μᾶς φιλοσοφήσης;
15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 204

ᾶ, πῶς λαλεῖς, ἡ μάννα μου;
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1077

λέγει τὴν ὁ Ἄγγελος τὸ «Χαῖρε, ἡ Μαρία»
15th c., *Diig. Ven.* 29

Κύριε, Κύριε, ὁ Θεός μου, ἐσὺ με ἐπροεῖπες ὅτι μετ' ἐμένα εἶσαι
16th c., *DAM. STOD.*, *This., Logos* 17, ο7ν.24 (1561)

ὦ ψυχὴ μου, σινιόρα Δουλτσινέα, τὸ ἄνθος τῆς εὐμορφίας, βοήθησε αὐτὸν τὸν καβαλιέρην σου
18th c., *Don Kis.* 52.21–2

5.1.3 Accusative

5.1.3.1 Complements of Verbs

Accusative of the Direct Object

- (59) In the default case, transitive verbs mark their direct object NPs (and in relevant cases nominal/adjectival direct object complements) in the accusative case.

καὶ καθαιροῦσιν τὸν παπᾶν!
13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 271

παρακουῶ τοὺς λόγους του καὶ οὐ ποιω τὸ θέλημάν του
13th–14th c./12th c., *Spaneas* P 280

ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐνθυμοῦμαι ..., πλέον δὲ πάντων σέ, τὸν ἐμὸν ποθητὸν καὶ ἀγαπητὸν μου υἱόν
14th c., Cyprus, *KODER et al.* 2001: 245, 426.35–6

- ἀνάπαψεν τὰ ὅλογα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1749
 θέλομεν διηγῆσασθαι τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν μέγαν 15th–16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 752
 ἐσὺ μ' ἐντρόπιαζες ... κ' ἐγάμεις τῇ μάνᾳ μου καὶ ... δὲ σοῦ εἶπα τίποτας, κ' ἐσὺ, γιὰ
 μία βολὰ πού ἐγάμησα τῇ γυναίκα σου, κάνεις ἔτσι; 16th c., *Nov.* I 156.14–16
 τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπήραμεν καὶ τὲς θαλάσσης, τὰ νησία ὅλα 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 244.9 (Lolos)
 παρακαλεῖ καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνη νὰ τὲς συμπαθήσῃ
 1672, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 13, 10.3

With Direct Object Complements

- καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ἀδελφὴν τῆς κόρης νὰ τοῦ δώσω, νὰ τοῦ τὴν δώσω σύζυγον,
σύγαμβρον νὰ τὸν ἔχω 16th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* α 4543–4 app. crit. (N)
 οὐκ ἐποίησαν αὐτὸν μέγαν μάστορην 17th c./16th c., *Ekth. Chron.* 71.25

NOTES

- (i) A double accusative construction is characteristic of verbs meaning “teach (someone something)”, “inform (someone [of] something)”. This option is also attested with verbs meaning “dress X (in)”, “exchange X (for)”, “spend X (on)”, “fill X (with)”, “free X (from)”; in these cases, however, the second accusative may be replaced, especially in EMG texts, by an indirect object (formally distinguishable only when the genitive is used, see Rules (60) and (66)) or a prepositional phrase, according to the individual preferences of the verb in question.

- πολλά τὸν ἔχω εὐκαιρητὴν ... ὅπου διδάξῃ γράμματα ποτέ τοῦ τὸ παιδὶν τοῦ
 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 208–9
 παρήγγειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ... μόνη ἐκεῖνη ... νὰ σε ἀλλάξῃ ῥωμαϊκόν, δεσποινικόν
ἱμάτιν ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.3r.11–16
 τί ἀντίσηκον καλὸν νὰ σε τὸ ἀντιμέψω; 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 3760
 ἐπληροφόρεσέ τον τὸν θάνατον τοῦ πρίγκιπος καὶ τὴν κατάστασιν τοῦ
 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7825–6
δένδρη μεγάλα κ' ἐρπετὰ κι ἄλλα θηριὰ τῆς φύσης, ... ἐγέμισεν ἡ κτίσις
 15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 21–2
γέροντα Σαρακηνὸν γράμματα μὴ μανθάνῃς 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 51
 ἂν ἦτον ἀργυρόκουπα ὁ οὐρανὸς ..., νὰ μὲ τὸν ἐγεμίζασιν ἄσπρο κρασὶν ἀκράτον
 16th c./15th c., *Krasop.* AO 93
κόκκινα δὲν σε ντύννω, βιβλιὸν μου 16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 2.17
 ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ... ἐντυσεν τοὺς Πέρσας ὅλους φορεσίαν ὡσὰν οἱ Μακεδόνες
 ἐβαστοῦσαν, καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὅλους ἐφόρεσεν Περσικὴν φορεσίαν
 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 308.18–20 (Lolos)
 τὰ ἄσπρα πού εἶναι ἐδῶ, θαρρῶ ... νὰ τὰ ψωνίσω κερί
 1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 14, 216.8–9

With Intransitive and Passive Verbs (principal object of transitive verb > subject)

- καὶ λυτρωθοῦμεν τον γοργόν, νὰ μὴ μᾶς παραβλέπῃ 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 528
 τότε νὰ ἐλευθερωθῇς τὴν λύπην καὶ τοὺς πόνους 15th c., *Peri xen.* 324
 ὁ ρήγας ἐγέμωσεν χολὴν καὶ λαλεῖ τους 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 232.10

With (Passive) Adjectives with Related Meanings

- ἦτον ὁ κόσμος σκοτεινὸς καὶ τὰ νερά γεμάτος 15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 11
 μαξιλάρια δύο γιομάτα πτερό καινούργια 1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 14, 13.8–9

With Indirect Object (Genitive NP or PP) Substituted for Second Accusative

- οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς τοῦ ἐφόρεσαν τὸ μανδύον τὸ πατριαρχικόν
 16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 181
 γέμισε τοῦτο τὸ φλασκὶ κρασί, altri dicono ἀπὸ κρασί
 17th c., GERMANO, *Grammar* 104.9–10
 νὰ τοῦ κάμη μόδο νὰ ἐλευθερωθῇ ἀπὸ τῇ σκλαβίᾳ
 1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 1999a: 1, 277.7

- (ii) Ἐχω combines with a number of bare accusative nouns with meanings in the range “need/desire/power” to form a kind of periphrastic verb that in turn may take (*inter alia*) a direct object NP in the accusative (± an object complement):

- ἐσέναν εἶχε-θέλημα ἄντρα τοῦ νὰ μὲ δώσῃ 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 2237
 εἶτι θέλεις κάμε με, ἔχεις-με -ἐξουσίαν
 15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 752 transcr. (Panayotopoulou/Lendari)
 διὰ τοῦτο ἔχομεν-χρεῖα πολλοὺς ὅπου νὰ μᾶς διδάρουν
 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 30.1–2

Accusative of the Indirect Object

- (60) In northern areas, including Constantinople and much of Asia Minor, the indirect object (marked dative in AG) may be expressed by an accusative NP.

Alternatively a prepositional phrase headed by εἰς/σέ or πρὸς + accusative may be used. Such PPs appear in this function in *all locations*, especially in later periods, and are most usually substituted for NPs headed by other than 1st/2nd-person pronouns.

Accusative indirect objects, especially pronominal ones, also appear sporadically in southern areas as an alternative to the usual genitive of the indirect object (for which see 5.1.4).

Northern Areas + Texts of Uncertain Provenance

- κατονείδιζε καὶ εἶπέ τον ὅσα θέλεις 13th–14th c./12th c., *Spaneas* P 127
 ποῖον μαντάτον νὰ ὑπάγωμεν τὴν ταπεινὴν μας μάννα; 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 93
ἐπώλησα ἐσέν παπὰ Θεόδωρον τὸν ἐξάδελφόν μου τὸ δσπίτιν εἰς Διανίαν
 1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 17, 8.1–2
ἔδωκα ἐσέν παπὰ Θεόδωρον τὸν γαμβρόν μου τόπον τὸ Λεγνάκιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀλόγου
 καὶ τῶν κρικίων 1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 19, 8.1–2

- χρεωστεί με καὶ ὁ Παῦλος χοινικ(όν) κριθάρ(ιν)
1269, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 52, 29.32
- καὶ τὴν πρόσταξιν ἐκείνου ἀμφοτέρως διηγοῦνται τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὥς εἶπεν
15th c./14th c., ERMON., *Ilias* 1.258–60
- ἐκείνον δώσω τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 66
- καὶ δός με ἀπὸ τὰ φουσσάτα σου ἐκείνους τοὺς θέλω 15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 87
- ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ... γραφὴν γράφει, ἀντίγραμμά στέλνει αὐτοὺς ὀπίσω
16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 209–10
- ἄφηκα τὸν παπὰ Τζουάνην κεχρὶ κιλὰ δώδεκα
15th c., Meteora, VEIS et al. 1998: 225, 246, f.163v.10
- εἰς ἄρχων ἔστειλε τὸν δοῦλον του, νὰ τὸν ἀγοράσῃ πουλιά γενεές τρεῖς
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 53, 44.1–2
- τοῦτος ὁ Ἡρώδης ἦτον ἀλλόφυλος ... καὶ ὑποτάσσοτον τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς Ρώμης
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 341.5–7

Southern Areas

- εἶχεν γὰρ ὁ κύρ Θεόδωρος, ἐκεῖνος ποῦ σέ λέγω, υἱοὺς τρεῖς καὶ ἐξαίρετους
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3537–8
- πρόσεξε ... τὰ ἔμπατα, τὸ πόσοι τὰ φυλάγουν, νὰ με τὸ εἶπῃς ..., νὰ με τὸ
διερμηνέψῃς, [καὶ μὴ τολμήσῃς νὰ τὸ εἶπῃς ἀνθρώπου γεννημένου]
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8214–17
- τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐποίκασι, λόγον οὐδὲν τὸν λέγουν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1357
- [ἐφανίσθη μου κ' ἔτρεχα εἰς λιβάδιν ὠραιωμένον ...] ... κ' ἐφάνη με ὁκ' ἔδιωχνα με
θράσος ἔλαφίνα 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 5–9
- λέγει με 16th c./15th c., [FALIEROS], *Erot. En.* 42
- ὁ Χάρος εὐρηκέ με καὶ σφονδυλίαν με ἔδωσεν καὶ εἰς μίαν ἐσκότωσέ με
16th c./15th c., ?Crete, *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 59–60
- [ὁποῦ ... τοῦ πτωχοῦ δανείζει] ... ἐκείνον τὸν χαρίζει τὴν ἄμετρον γλυκύτητα
16th c./15th c., ?Crete, *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 111–13
- ὁ ἐνδιάθετος νόμος, ὃν ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ: ὁ ἐσὺ μισεῖς, ἐτέρω μὴ ποιήσῃς
17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 407.409

Prepositional Phrases (attested in all areas)

- τὸ κορμί μου δίδω το σήμερα εἰς ἐσένα 15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 727
- πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγαν οἱ συγγενεῖς τῆς κόρης 16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 618
- καὶ ἱκετικῶς ἀναφέρουσι πρὸς τὴν πανιερότητά σου διττὴ γραφὴν τῆς πανιερότητός σου εἶδασιν
1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.6–7
- ἀπὸ κεῖ ἔστειλε ὁ τὸν Ἰωάννη βασιλέα Παλαιολόγο ὅτι ...
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.11

NOTES

- (i) Verbs, including impersonal verbs, that in AG governed or allowed the inclusion of a dative NP denoting an affected/interested party (e.g. as experiencer, beneficiary, victim etc.) may similarly assign the accusative in LMedG/EMG; such accusatives are once again in competition with the genitive, largely on a north/south basis (cf. above).

Accusative for AG Dative

- ἂν οὐ πιασθῇ καὶ δαμασθῇ ..., ὥς ὄρνειον πετάζεται, δοκοῦν τὸν ὅλα ὁμάλιν
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 128–9
- κἂν καὶ κίνδυνος ..., κἂν θάνατος ἐπώδυνος με πρόκειται ἀπὸ τούτου, ...
τολμήσειν θέλω ... τὰ τῆς τιμῆς σου πάντα ... κατὰ λεφτόν νὰ γράψω
?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.5v.5–14
- ἐγὼ εἶμαι, λέγει, ἀδελφέ: μὴ με τὸ ἀπιστήσῃς 14th c., *Log. parig.* L 108
- φαίνεται τὸν στὸ σπῖτιν του εὐρίσκεται ἀπέσω 15th c., *Peri xen.* 34
- ἔπρεπέ τὸν νὰ ᾤρεσε μαντί καὶ καμηλαύχι 16th c., *Kakop.* 127
- διὰ ποῖα ᾠορμὴ με τὰ κρατᾷς αὐτοῦ (καὶ δὲν θέλεις νὰ μοῦ στείλῃς τὸ πράγμα μου;) 1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 13, 215.3–4
- ἐμισέψασι ... χάνοντας καὶ κάμπποσα φλωρία, ποῦ τοὺς ἐφάγασι οἱ Λιδωρικιώτες
18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 42.8–13

Genitive for AG Dative

- κ' ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲν τοῦ ἐποίκασιν τίποτε πονηρίαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5266
- ὅταν σέ φθάσῃ αὐθέντης σου, ἀνάσκελα μοῦ πέφτεις καὶ τάχα με τοὺς πόδας σου θέλεις νὰ βοηθᾷσαι 15th c./14th c., *Poulol.* 66–7
- τί μοῦ σεῖς τὸ μουστάκιν σου ἀπάνω τε καὶ κάτω; 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 128
- καὶ ἔρχονται τοῦ πρώτου φλουριά ἰα' αθ/γα, [ὁ δεύτερος τὸν ἔρχονται φλουριά ἰγ' εα/θγ, τὸν τρίτον ἔρχονται φλουριά ἰδ' βς/γα]
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 61, 48.9–10
- χαιρέτα μου τὴν μητέρα μου 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 410.20
- κάλλιον ἔναι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νὰ κείτεται ἀπὸ μεγάλην ἀνάγκην, περὶ νὰ ἔχη τὰ βάρη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 28.18–21 (Konstantinopolos)
- αὐτεῖνοι τοῦ συγχύζουσι τὸν λαόν 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 39.19

- (ii) Verbs that in AG took genitive complements (e.g. ἀκούω, for the source of a sound), or dative complements other than indirect objects etc. (e.g. ἀκολουθῶ, βοηθῶ), may also assign the accusative in LMedG/EMG. The accusative again competes with the genitive (both original and as a dative substitute), in part on the north/south basis already explained. But verbs whose meaning supported reinterpretation as "ordinary" transitives eventually come to take the accusative everywhere (e.g. βοηθῶ); in southern regions, however, those verbs that had substituted the genitive for an original dative

were assimilated to the transitive paradigm more slowly and the process continues into the modern era. Correspondingly, prepositions are increasingly used in all areas to support NPs that were clearly felt to be insufficiently object-like (e.g. ακούω κάτι από κάποιον(v)).

Accusative for AG Dative (ἀκολουθῶ, βοηθῶ, compounds with συν- etc.)

τά δὲ τυπικά τῶν μεγάλων μοναστηρίων ... εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ συμφωνοῦν τοὺς
θείους κανόνες οὔτε ἄλλην θείαν γραφὴν
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 4 214.14–16

τοὺς Φράγκους ἐμαχόντησαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1079

βουλὴν ἐζήτησεν αὐτῶν τοῦ νὰ τὸν συμβουλευέμουν περὶ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ Μορέως
πῶς νὰ τὸν κυβερνήσῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7829–30

βοήθα τὸν ξενούτζικον 15th c./14th c., *Flor.* L 77

μὲ ἐβοηθήσετε κ' ἡπῆρα τὸ γονικό μου 16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 70

τώρα νὰ ἰδῶ ποῖος ἀπὸ σὰς μὲ θέλει ἀκολουθήσει 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1037

εἶχαμεν σκύλον καὶ ἐβοήθειν λύκον 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 88

Genitive for AG Dative (southern areas, into the modern era)

δὲν μοῦ ἐβοηθοῦσας 16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 121.40–1

ἀκλούθησέν του 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 566.32

βοηθᾶς μου 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* I.334

Accusative for AG Genitive (with NPs typically denoting a part, source or objective)

τὸν πόλεμον ἀρχάσαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1413

νὰ σὲ εἰπῶ καὶ ἄλλον, τὸ ἤκουσα τοὺς γέροντας καὶ τοὺς προπάτοράς μου
15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 689–90 app. crit. (CA)

πολλὰ ἐπεθύμαν βασιλείαν, πολλὰ ἐπεθύμα δόξαν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 2206

τοῦτο παρακαλῶ καὶ δέομαι τὴν παναγιότητά σου, νὰ ἔχω συγχώρησιν
1622, ?Karpachos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: B, 300.17–18

AG Genitive Occasionally Retained (higher styles, traditional phraseology)

ἐκεῖ όπου ἐδέοντον τοῦ Θεοῦ νὰ δώσῃ βροχὴν, τοὺς ἐπεμψε χαλάζιν μεγάλον καὶ
φοβερὸν 17th c., *Chron.* 1619 1149–50

καθὼς μοῦ ἀκούσετε 17th c., VAROUCHAS, *Logoi* 466.42–467.1

Prepositional Phrases for Bare Cases

ἀπὸ σαλοῦ καὶ μεθυστοῦ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἄκουε 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 7

οἱ ἦσαν μαχεζόμενοι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως 16th c./15th c., LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 642 app. crit.

οὔτε ἀπὸ μάθημα ἐμέτεχεν 17th c., RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 61.17

ὥσάν λαϊκὸς νὰ συγκοινωνᾷ με τοὺς κοσμικοὺς 17th c., RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 105.29

ἐσυνωμίλησα καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου πατρός
1707, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 13, 310, f.1r.4

5.1.3.2 Accusative Adjuncts

Accusative of Space/Extent (including measures)

(61) The accusative is used adverbially to mark NPs denoting the space in/ throughout which something takes place, the size of a person or object, or a distance traversed; such accusatives may specify both verbs and adjectives.

μαθὼν καὶ ποῦ ἀργαβιάζεσαι, τὰ ῥῶ δὲν ἔχεις τόπον
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 246 app. crit. (P)

ἦτον (γυναῖκα) α ὀργυλῆς ὑψηλὴ καὶ διακόσιες ὀργυλῆς χοντρή
16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 36.9 (Konstantinopolos)

ἦσαν (δένδρα) ὑψηλὰ πῆχες ἑκατόν 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.19
εἰς τὸ πατριαρχεῖον ... εἶναι γράμματα γλυπτὰ τὸ γύρωθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας
1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.1–2

Extended/Metaphorical Uses (including fixed expressions)

ἄλλον τόσον εἶνε μισισμένος ἀπὸ ῥ' αὐτῆς μας!
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 252.30

καὶ τὴν ἄλλην μερέαν ὅτι ... τοῦ εἶχε εἰπεῖ ὁ πασᾶς βιζιρὴς ὅτι νὰ μὴν πάγῃ νὰ
πολεμήσῃ με τὸν Ταμερλάνο 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.6–8

ὁμως, σὲ παρακαλῶ, ἀνασηκώσου κομμάτι 18th c., *Don Kis.* 47.6–7

NOTE

(i) Locative NPs in the accusative case define extended areas rather than specific points in space (for which prepositional phrases headed by εἰς/σε + accusative are normally used).

Accusative of Time

(62) The accusative is similarly used to mark NPs denoting a period of time at/within/throughout which something takes place; the meaning may be distributive ("in/during each period X") when the context is generic, as often in legal documents.

ἀπῆρες ὕπνον ὀλιγόν, ἐκάμμυες ὥρίσαν 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 166

ψυχὴ μου κακοτύχερε, μὴν ἑχάρης ὥραν 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 196

ἐκράτησεν ὁ γάμος τοὺς τρῆς μῆνας ἀκεραῖους 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1083

μετὰ τὸ δοῦναι τὴν ἀπόφασιν, καρτερεῖ ὁ κριτὴς ἡμέρας 1'
ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 73.170

τὸ μεσόνυκτο ἐγένετο ἀστραπαὶ καὶ βροντὴ καὶ ροπή
1326, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 41, 93.5–6

τὴν νύχτα ἐκείνη παρευτὺς ἔσωσεν τὸ μαντάτο στὸν Καμπανέσην
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1539–40

εἰς τὴν Κλαρέντσαν ἔσωσεν τὸ ἔβγα τοῦ μαῖου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7848

τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, ἡμέρᾳ Σαββάτῳ, ἐπέθανε ἡ μακαρισμένη ἀρχόντισσα τοῦ σιρ
Τζορ Ταρτούζ 1391, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 2, 88.1–2

- ὄργην νὰ ἔλθῃ ἀπάνω του ὅπου ποτὲ ἀγάπην θελήσῃ μὲ τὸν Πρίαμον νὰ ἔχῃ μίαν
ἡμέραν 16th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1468–9
- τοῦ Αὐγούστου τὰ πεντάλιτρα τὸν Μάιον ἀναζητοῦνται 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 19
- ἐβλέπαν τον ἀμπέξω μέρα νύκταν 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 56, 58.38, 4
- ἐκείνην τὴν εὐλογημένην νύκταν ὅπου ἐγεννήθη ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ...,
ἐμφανίσθησαν σημεῖα πολλὰ καὶ διάφορα 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 332.31–3
- τὴν σήμερον ἡμέραν εἰς τὸ πατριαρχεῖον ... εἶναι γράμματα γλυπτὰ τὸ γύρωθεν τῆς
ἐκκλησίας 1565–75, Constantinople, *FOERSTER* 1877: 7, 15.1–2
- ἤκουσαν τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ ἐνὸς μέρους καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου ... μία καὶ δύο καὶ πολλάκις
βολές 1581, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI* 2001a: 46, 43.2–4
- ἐπολέμησέ την (Σουμάκια) καμπόσες ἡμέρες 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.3

Idiomatic Expression

- ἐτελεύτησεν καὶ αὐτήν, σήμερον δέκα ἡμέρες
1684, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA* et al. 1982/83: 436, 659.15
- (“today ten days” = “ten days ago”, cf. MG ἐδὼ καὶ δέκα μέρες)

Distributive (= “per”)

- τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἑκατὸν δουκάτα τὸν μῆνα, ἤγουν χίλια καὶ διακόσια τὸν χρόνον, νὰ
ἐξοδιάζωνται εἰς τινὰς ἄρχοντας καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα
1465, Rome, *LAMBROS* 1930: 285.6–8
- νᾶχουν ὀμπλιγον τὰ παιδιὰ μου ... νὰ βάνουν νὰ μᾶς λέσι κάθε παιδί τὸν χρόνον
λειτουργεῖαι πενήντα 1662, Sifnos, *MERTZIOS* 1958a: 1, 110.157

NOTE

- (i) Temporal accusatives define the period of time for which or within which something occurs; a specific point in time at which something occurs (i.e. a temporal location *conceived* as punctual – it may in fact be a particular day or month etc.) is marked either with the dative (a traditional AG use, see 5.1.5) or a prepositional phrase headed by εἰς/σέ + accusative.

Accusative of Respect/Accusative of Specification

- (63) NPs that are used to delimit or further specify the denotation of nouns, verbs (normally intransitive or passive) and adjectives are often inflected in the accusative.

Such NPs identify a restricted domain of applicability for verbs and adjectives (e.g. “suffer *in (respect of) the heart*”, “bold *in (respect of) appearance*”), and normally specify the denotation of nouns by defining contents (e.g. “a cup *of water*”), specifying varieties (e.g. “an *olive-tree* root”) or identifying what is quantified (e.g. “an *acre of wheat*”). In older texts and in legal documents such NPs are also used with proper names and trades/crafts (e.g. “Alexander *by name*”, “a potter *by trade*”).

With Nouns

- ἀφίνω καὶ ἑπτὰ ἱερεῖς ἀπὸ δύο ὑπερπύρων σιτάριον
ca. 1270, Athos, *BOMPAIRE* 1964: 9A, 82.55
- θέλω νὰ ἀφηγήσωμαι περὶ τὸν Μέγαν Κύρην, μιστὶ Γυλιάμο τὸ ὄνομα, τὸ ἐπὶ κλην
ντὲ λὰ Ρότζε 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7958–9
- [ἐὰν αἱ τῆς σκιάς πῆχες θ' μὲ δίδουν ξύλου ὕψος πῆχας ζ',] αἱ ζε' πῆχαι σκιά πόσον
ὕψος πύργου μᾶς θέλουν δώσει;
post 1427, Unknown, *HUNGER/VOGEL* 1963: 17, 22.3–4
- ἄφηκα τὸν παπα Τζουάνην κεχρὶ κιλὰ δώδεκα
15th c., Meteora, *VEIS* et al. 1998: 225, 246, f.163v.10
- ἀπὸ τὸ πλοῦτος τὸ πολὺ ... οὐδὲν ἐπῆρα μετ' ἐμὲν ..., εἰμὲ ξι πῆχεις σάβανον κ'
ἔσαβανώσασί με 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 65–7
- δὸς με κοῦπα νεράκι, διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἄρχου σου, μὲ τὸ ἴδιο σου τὸ χεράκι
16th c./15th c., *Synax. gyn.* 393–4
- ἔτι μάρτυρας παρακαλεμένος μαῖστρο Ἀνδρέας Δρούσουλας, βουτηκλάρης τὴν τέχνην
1515, Crete, *KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 43, 75.24–5
- μιά ρίζαν ἐλαία καὶ συκὲς τρεῖς καὶ δύο ρίζες ἀπιδές
1597, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 9, 31.5–6
- si servono anco dell' Accusativo in vece del Genitivo in questi modi di parlare: ἔναν
ποτήρι νερόν, un bicchier d'acqua, ἔναν κομμάτι κρέας, un pezzo di carne, δύο
λαγήνια κρασί, due brocche di vino, & simili 17th c., *GERMANO, Grammar* 53.25–9
- ἐπροσήλωσεν εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς μονὴν εἴκοσι στρέμματα ἀμπέλι
1634, Serres region, *ODORICO* 1998: 58, 156.10
- ἂν ὁ μητροπολίτης ... σοῦ γυρεύσῃ νὰ δώσῃς παραπάνω ἀπὸ ταῖς δέκα ὀκτᾶδες τὸ
χαβιάρι, ... τίποτε παραπάνω νὰ μὴ δώσῃς
1706, Constantinople, *LEGRAND* 1903: 21, 59, 60.31–2, 1–2

With Verbs

- ταύτας τὰς τρεῖς κολάσεις ἐνταῦθα τὰς κολάζομαι 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 226–7
- Ἀγαμέμνων τῆνικαῦτα τὴν καρδίαν ἐπικράνθη 15th c./14th c., *ERMON., Ilias* 7.102–3
- νὰ ἀποσκεπάζωνται τὸ κεφάλι τους 1465, Rome, *LAMBROS* 1930: 287.18
- ἴπνουν τὸ κεφάλι 16th c., *ZINOS, Vatr.* 328

With Adjectives

- Ἰανουάριος ἦτον ἀπ' αὐτόν, νὰ στήκεται καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἄνθρωπος ὅλος κυνηγός, ὅλος
θαρσὺς τὸ σχῆμα 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv. α* 1179–80
- τὴν ἑπαρσιν ἀβάσταγος, ἀγέρωχος τὸ σχῆμα
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 27
- τ' ἄλλα πάντα θαυμαστούς, [γενναίους εἰς ἀνδρείαν]
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 30
- ὅπου ἔμαι δίχα σάρκωσιν, τὰ κόκκαλα γλυμένως 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 30

NOTE

- (i) Use of the accusative of respect with verbs and adjectives is a residual feature of older/more literary texts and is widely replaced by prepositional phrases in later/more vernacular material.

Accusative of Exclamation

- (64) NPs used in exclamations directed towards an individual are regularly inflected in the accusative (with or without an introductory particle) throughout the period of this Grammar.

- ποῦ νὰ εὕρης ἄλλον Πρόδρομον τοιοῦτον, τὴν κεφαλὴν σου; 15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 39
- τὸν Θεόν, καλὲ νεώτερε, ποῦ μένουν οἱ ἀπελάτες; 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 640
- ὦχω μας τοὺς ἑλενοὺς 15th c., ?Crete, KAKOULIDI 1958/59: 120
- ὀγάϊ τον κείνον ποῦ εὗρεθῇ νὰ 'ναι μ' αὐτὴν τὴν γνώμη 16th c., GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 311
- ὦ τὸν ἀσεβῆ! 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 415.33

NOTE

- (i) The accusative in greetings may be related, but the conventionalized ellipsis of a verb meaning "wish" provides an equally plausible explanation:

- κύρ γάδαρέ μου, γεία σου, χίλια καλῶς ἐβρήκαμε ἐδῶ τὴν ἀφεντιά σου 16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 11-12

"Cognate Object" Constructions

- (65) Verbs may occasionally take accusative NP adjuncts with head nouns that are formally cognate.

These are not true objects (there are no corresponding passive sentences), and the fact that the NPs in question almost always contain adjectives shows that they largely replicate the role of manner adverbials (*hate a great hate* = *hate greatly* etc.).

- ἐτζάκκισεν καὶ ἀντροπίασεν τὸν ὄρκον τοῦ ἀπὸ τὴν μεγάλην μισητείαν ἀποῦ μᾶς μισᾶ 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 252.28-9
- ἐκτύπησε ἕναν ἐκτύπον παράξενο καὶ ἡ πέτρα ἔδωσε εἰς τὸν τοῖχο καὶ ἔκαμε μίαν τρούπα μεγάλην ?15th-16th c., Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.15-16
- ἄρχισαν νὰ κλαίουں καὶ νὰ φωνάζουν φωνές μεγάλες 16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 105.23

NOTES

- (i) Verbs may also take adverbial NP adjuncts headed by non-cognate nouns with closely related meanings; besides those containing the usual adjective there are also reduplicated expressions indicating intensification (e.g. κλότζον τὸν κλότζον in the first example below = "[with] kick after kick" etc.):

- ὁ βούβαλος ... κλότζον τὸν κλότζον ἔκρουεν τὸν πάρδον μὲ τοὺς πόδας 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 1028-9
- ἔλεγεν φωνὴν ἀγγελικὴν καθαρὰν, ὅτι ἐγεννήθηκεν ἀπὸ μίαν παρθένον ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.1-2

- (ii) Ordinary transitive verbs may take direct objects that happen to be formally cognate, but these are obviously not "cognate object constructions" in any interesting sense:

- τότε πάλιν ὁ ἀμιράς τοῦτον τὸν λόγον λέγει 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 18
- ἔδερναν τὸν Χριστόν, καὶ παθαίνοντας τὰ πάθη ἐχαλότον ὀλίγον κατ' ὀλίγον 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.41-2
- ἴντα κανίσκιν ἄσκημο μ' ἔχεις κανισκεμένη! 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Erof.* V.398

- (iii) As a means of intensification, intransitive verbs with the core meaning "have some experience" exhibit marginal transitive uses involving NPs headed by cognate nouns or nouns of closely related meaning:

- τάρταρον τὸν τουρτουρισμόν, τὸν τουρτουρίζω τώρα 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 230
- κάλλιον τὸ ἔχω, θάνατον σήμερον ν' ἀποθάνω περὶ νὰ εἰποῦσιν ἄλλαχοῦ νὰ μὲ κατηγορήσουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1134-5
- ἂν ἦτον καὶ νὰ μπόρειε τὸν ὕπνον νὰ κοιμᾶτον, ἀλησμονήσειν ἤθελεν ὀλίγον ἐκ τὴν λύπην 15th c., *Peri xen.* 23-4

5.1.4 Genitive

5.1.4.1 Complements of Verbs

Genitive of Indirect Object and Related Complements

- (66) In southern areas, including S. Italy and Sicily, the indirect objects of ditransitive verbs and the complements of many other verbs that were marked dative in AG may be expressed by means of a genitive NP.

Alternatively a prepositional phrase headed by εἰς/σέ or πρὸς + accusative may be used. Such PPs appear in this function in all locations, especially in later periods, and are most usually substituted for NPs headed by other than 1st/2nd-person pronouns.

- πέπρακα αὐτὸ τοῦ κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου διὰ νόμισμα ἔν 1076-7, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1963: 1, 46.8
- νὰ μὲ τὸ διερμηνέψης (πῶς στήκει τὸ κάστρον), καὶ μὴ τολμήσης νὰ τὸ εἰπῇς ἀνθρώπου γεννημένου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8216-17
- ἐμήνυσεν τοῦ καστελλάνου νὰ ἔλθῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8228
- δὲν μοῦ φάνη κ' ἔζησα στὰ πλούτη μίαν ἡμέραν 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 73
- γυρεύουν ὅτι νὰ τοὺς δώσουν τὸν Σαμφών, ... καὶ οἱ Ἰσραηλίται ... φοβοῦνται καὶ δίδουν τὸν Σαμφών δεμένον τῶν ἐχθρῶν 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 278.32-4

- ποτέ μου δὲ σοῦ εἶπα τίποτας 16th c., *Nov. I* 156.15
 ἀφίει καὶ ἐμοῦ τοῦ νοταρίου διὰ τὸν κόπον μου ὑπέρπυρα εἰκοσιπέντε
 1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 165.42
 ἀφήνει τῆς Καντιῶς ὅ,τι μερτικό τοῦ ἐγγίζει στὸ χωράφι τῆς Κουκουβάγιας
 1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 9, 311.22
 τὰ ὅσα ἔχω δοσμένα τῶν ἐπιτρόπων 1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 109.115
 τῇ γραφῇ ... ἐλάβαμε ..., τὴν ὁποία ἐδιαβάσαμε τὴνε, ὡς ἔπρεπε, τοῦ δεσπότη καὶ
ὁλονοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ 1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.5

With Prepositional Phrases (attested in all areas)

- ἀνταπεκρίνατο πρὸς με ὁ ὑποψήφιος [λέγων μοι ὅτι ...]
 ?1144, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 313.4–5
πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀποκρίθη 16th c./14th c., *Ptochol.* α 722
 π(εζάν)τ(ια) τ' δομένα στοὺς κάτ(ωθε) τόπου
 1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 48, 26.3
 ἐδώκασιν τὸν λεγόμενον Ἀντώνη εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ εὐγενοῦς φρα Γιλιάμου
 1491, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1988: 1, 234.26
 ἀενάως στέλνων ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς δωρεάς
 17th c./16th c., *Ekth. Chron.* 40.24–5
 ἐσεῖς ... ἀπονη βουλὴν ἐδώκετε σ' ἐμένα 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.319

NOTE

- (i) For further examples of the genitive in southern areas, specifically to mark NPs denoting an interested party (e.g. experiencer, beneficiary, victim etc., all marked dative in AG) or the complements of verbs such as ἀκολουθῶ, βοηθῶ etc. (+ dative in AG), see Rule (60) NOTES (i) and (ii).

Genitive Governed by Adjectives

- (67) A small number of adjectives take genitive complements in early/more literary texts; only ἄξιος retains this construction with any regularity in later periods, where it remains a learned feature.

- πάντας ἄξιους ἔκρινεν τοῦ στέφους καὶ τοῦ κράτους
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 38
 κοινὴν βουλὴν ἄς εἴπωμεν, ἂν ἔναι θελητόν σου πῶς καὶ γενοῦμεν ἐγκρατεῖς τοῦ
κάστρου καὶ τῆς κόρης 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1032–3
 ἂν οἱ προσευχῆς ... ἐνεργοῦσιν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν ταύτην, καὶ πόσον μᾶλλον μετὰ θάνατον,
 εἰς ἐκείνους ὅπου εἶναι ἄξιοι τῶν ἱερῶν εὐχῶν ...; 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 100
 ὁπότεν ἐθέλασιν γυρέφειν νὰ πουλήσουν τίποτι, νὰ εἶναι ἐκπτωτοὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
 καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῆς 1615, Santorini, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 9, 5.47–8

5.1.4.2 Genitive Adjuncts

- (68) Genitive NPs may be used to mark the reason for/cause of an eventuality, or to specify a time/place within which something occurred.

Genitive of Reason/Cause

- ἦλθε μου λακταρισμός νὰ πέσω ν' ἀποθάνω καὶ ν' ἀποθάνω ὁ ἐλεεινὸς αἰφνίδιου
θανάτου 15th c., *Peri xen.* 331
 ὀλιγοψύχησεν πολλὰ κι ἔπεσεν τοῦ θανάτου 15th c., *Peri xen.* 401
 μὰ κλαίγει καὶ τῇ τύχῃ του πολλὰ παραπονᾶται
 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* III.508
 ἀκόμη τόγγονοῦ μου τοῦ Τζάν Φραντζέσκο τοῦ Κορνάρου ... παραπονοῦμαι
 1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 79.23
 μὰ ψυχὴ, ἀπὸ εὐρίσκεται τοῦ πόθου ἀρρωστημένη, σφαίνει τσί πλιάτερες φορὲς
 καὶ μένει κομπωμένη 17th c., TROILOS, *Rodol.* IV.163–4

NOTE

- (i) The genitive of reason/cause may be used absolutely in a number of archaic/conventionalized exclamations that originate for the most part in liturgical texts and represent a reaction to a situation or occurrence:

- ἐνέβην ἐς τὸ ξύλον καὶ ἀρμενίσαν – ὦ τοῦ θαύματος! – παραῦτα ἐγίνην ζόλη καὶ
 ἦρτα νὰ πνιγοῦσιν 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 62.11–13
 παγαίνοντας εἰς τὸ σπῖτι του, – ὦ τοῦ θαύματος! – ἀπὸ τὸ σακούλι, ὅπου ἔβαλε
 τὸ κεφάλι, ἔτρεχεν αἷμα! 16th c., DIONYS., *Istor.* 253.23–4
 ὦ τῆς μακροθυμίας σου, δέσποτα πολυέλεε Θεέ!
 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 25.12–13

Genitive of Place/Time

The genitive is used residually, mainly in fixed expressions, to denote an area within/via which, or a period of time during/within which, something takes place.

Place

- ἂν θέλω ... νὰ στείλω (τὰ φουσσᾶτα) μὲ τὰ κάτεργα νὰ ὑπάγουν τῆς θαλάσσης κι
 ἀπαύτου ... νὰ ὑπάγουν τῆς στερέας, ... νὰ τὸν (= τὸν τόπον σου) ἐπάρουν
 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4233–7

Time

- εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐτήρησα πολλοῦ καιροῦ κτισμένη 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 17
τῆς ὥρας ἐκατέβη κάτω ἀπὸ τὸ θεῖον κελίον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὄρισε καὶ ἀνοιξαν τὴν
 ἐκκλησίαν 16th c., MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 218.32–3
 ἐκεῖ ἐπροσεύχετον ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός 16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.7

NOTE

- (i) There are a few related phrases of the same type involving an extended use of the genitive to denote the medium of communication:

Σαρακηνός ἐλάλησεν τὸν ἀμिरὰν τῆς γλώσσης 15th c./12th c., *Dig. E 21*

- (69) The genitive is widely used to mark NPs functioning as adnominal modifiers, i.e. that variously delimit the denotation of the head nouns they are in construction with.

It is often difficult to say what the precise meaning of a given genitive is, and any classificatory system of adnominal genitive adjuncts will necessarily be in some degree arbitrary; here they are grouped under three general headings, possession, specification and description.

Genitive of Possession/Belonging

τίς ... τὴν χαρὰν νὰ ἰσχύσῃ καταλέξειν, τίς τοῦ λαοῦ τὴν χαρμονὴν ..., τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου πολιτῶν 12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit. f.7v.3–10*

κλίνει τῶν δύνων τὰς κεφαλὰς, γαβροῦ καὶ θυγατρὸς τοῦ 15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil. N 1528*

συνάχθητε ὁμοῦ ὥδε σήμερον, νὰ μαθήσωμεν τὰ γένια τοῦ σπανοῦ 16th c./14th–15th c., *Spanos D 1149–50*

ἀπ' αὐτὰ ἐχάλασεν τοῦ πρίγκιπος ἡ ἀρμάτα 15th c., *Chron. Toc. 1896*

στάς δεκαπέντε τοῦ μηνός, λέγω τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου 16th c., *ZINOS, Alex. Rim. Epil. 57*

ὁμως ἀνέβη καὶ ἔκαμεν εἰς τὰ γόνατα τοῦ Διὸς τὰ αὐγά 16th c., *Vios Aisop. K 205.5*

NOTE

- (i) The possessive genitive may also be used predicatively, sometimes with additional nuances:

μὴ βλέπῃς τὸ ἀπάκιν μας, οὐκ ἔνι τοῦ λάρυγγός σου 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III 248*
 "it's not your throat's" = "for your throat"

Genitive of Specification (defining the particular case/kind, with various nuances)

μονοκύθρου μ' ἔδωκε καθ' ὕπνους μυρωδιά 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I 235*

εἰ μὲν συμβῇ ὁ ἀφέντης του ... καὶ νὰ τὸν ἔχη εἰς φυλακὴν, εἰς τιμωρίαν σιδηρῶν, νὰ τὸν ζητήσῃ ὁ ἀφέντης του καὶ νὰ τὸν ἀνακράξῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H 7572–4*

ἀμμέ ὁ σίρ Τουμᾶς δὲν τὸν ἐλείφεν ἡ πικρία τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ του 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron. A 28.15*

"the bitterness of (arising from) his brother's death"

τότες δὲν εἶναι καιρὸς τῆς βοηθείας οὐδὲ ποσῶς, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα παρακάλεσι ἀπρακτὴ καὶ ἀνωφέλετη 16th c., *Pist. kekoim. 159–60*

"a time of (to seek) relief/assistance"

εἰς τὸ ἐκλαμπρότατον Κολέγιον Χανδάκου Κρήτης 1598, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.12–13*

"the College of Chandax of (in) Crete"

ἐδὰ ν' καιρὸς τῇ προσευκῇ, δάκρυα δριμιά τυχαίνου, νὰ συμπαθήσῃ ὁ Κύριος πᾶσα κριματισμένου 17th c./16th–17th c., *Thysia Avr. 579–80*

ἐρχίνισασι εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον νὰ κτίζουσι μοναστήρια καὶ νὰ πρεμαζώνονται τὰ πλήθη τῶν μοναχῶν 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas. 31.20–1*

ὀργισθήκασι περίσσα καὶ ἀφρίζασι ἀπὸ λύσσα ἐκδίκησης 18th c., *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal. 16.23–4*

"fury of (for/arising from) revenge"

Genitive of Description (including measures)

ἕτερον χωράφιν εἰς τὴν Παληρέαν μοδίῶν ἡ ca. 1270, Athos, *BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.27*

ἐννόμους δὲ γάμους πληροῦσιν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι, ὅταν εἶναι ὁ ἄνθρωπος χρόνων ἰδ' καὶ ἄνωθεν, ... καὶ ἡ γυναῖκα νὰ εἶναι χρόνων ἰβ' καὶ ἄνωθεν ca. 1300, Cyprus, *MARUHN 1981: 238.400–2*

εἰς τὸ κουμοῦ τῆς Βενετίας ἐξέβησαν ἄνθρωποι γνώσεως μεγάλης καὶ στρατειᾶς 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H 950–1*

ἐβγήκε κακῆς προαιρέσεως ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἐβουλεύθη κακὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὅπου τὸν ἀνάθρεψεν 16th c., *DIONYS., Istor. 252.11–13*

εὐρίσκονται ἄνδρες τοῦ σπαθίου τριανταπέντε χιλιάδες 1609, Cyprus, *CHASIOTIS 1972: 35, 59.10*

5.1.5 Dative

- (70) In vernacular LMedG/EMG the dative case is no longer employed creatively and survives chiefly in lexicalized clichés and other fossilized expressions such as dating formulae.

In early texts, however, the dative is not uncommon in short verbal phrases comprising imperatives and personal pronouns; subsequently, dative pronouns (often with other verb forms) are a mark of influence from more learned registers and/or of traditional practice in certain "higher" domains.

Its occasional appearance as a variant of other cases or forms of expression involving more complex NPs is typically inspired by traditional usage in a specific domain or by the actual words of an ancient (often religious) source.

Dative Pronouns

[φέρε με καὶ βλάχικον τυρὶν σταμεναρέαν], καὶ δός μοι νὰ προγεύσωμαι καὶ πάλιν νὰ πετσώνω 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III 119–20*

δότε μοι πετσὶν διὰ τὰ ὑποδήματά μου 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. IV 144*

"τί ἔνι τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὅπερ λέγεις;" εἶπε μοι ὅτι "ὁ μητροπολίτης Φιλίππων" 1337/8, Constantinople, *HUNGER et al. 1995: 109, 92.57–8*

ἐμένα ... φαίνεται μοι ὡς ἀναγκαιότατον ... πρῶτον ὁ ἱατρός 1465, Rome, *LAMBROS 1930: 286.4–5*

ἔλεγα «βοηθεῖτε μοι!» κ' ἐκεῖνοι ἀφήκασί με 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas. 63*

Fossilized Phrases/Dating Formulae

- ἐν τούτῳ παύομαι ἐδῶ νὰ λέγω κι ἀφηγοῦμαι περὶ τοῦ ρῆγα Κάρουλου
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7955-6
- ἐχαρίσαμε τοῦ Γεωργίου ... τὸ κοπέλι ..., ὀνόματι Φίλιππο Θεόδοση Βεντούρη
1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 72, 36.1-4
- τῇ ἱε' αὐγούστου ,αὐγούστου ,αὐγούστου τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐστέφθην ὁ ρὲ Χάρην εἰς τὴν
χώραν τῆς Τύρου ρήγας 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 42.3-5
- (τὰ δαιμόνια) εἶχαν πέσει ἀπὸ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν, τότες ὅπου ἠθέλησαν νὰ
γένουν ὅμοιοι τῷ Θεῷ τῷ ὑψίστῳ 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.27-30
- ἐν τῷ ᾄμα τοῦ ἔστειλε λόγον 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.3
- διὰ τοῦτο γράφω ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ καὶ ποιῶ παραίτησιν τοῦ θρόνου τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς
Καρπάθου 1622, ?Karpathos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: B, 300.14-15
- ἀποφασίσαμεν ἅπαντες κοινῇ γνώμῃ καὶ βουλῇ ὅτι νὰ πωλήσωμεν τὰ κελλία τῆς
μεγάλης Μέσης 1661, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 71, 200.5
- περὶ ταῖς καλαῖς σας ὑγείαις πολλὰ τὸ ἐχάρηκα καὶ παρακαλῶ τὸν Θεὸν νὰ τὴν εὖρῃ
ἢ παροῦσα ἐν ὑγείαις καὶ πάσῃ χαρᾷ 1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 16, 216.5-6
- Ἱστορία Γαλαξειδίου ... Διὰ χερὸς Εὐθυμίου Ἱερομονάχου ἔτος ... αψγ' μηνὶ Μαρτίου
18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 13.1-10

Some Other Uses

- ἄλλο μῆνυμαν ἐκ τοὺς ἀποσωστάς σου τῷ βασιλεῖ κατέλαβεν γέμον χαρὰν μεγάλην
?12th c. or 13th-14th c., *Eisit.* f.1r.3-8
- "ambassadors to the emperor"
- ὁ ... πάπας ... ἔταξε νὰ δίδῃ κάθε μῆνα τὰ αὐθεντόπουλα δουκάτα τριακόσια,
ὥσπερ ἔδιδε καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ τῷ δεσπότῃ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτῶν
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 284.9-11
- (traditional high style in reference to the emperor, as above)
- ἀπέθανε καὶ ἡ δέσποινα κυρὰ Ἄννα ... λοιμώδει νόσῳ
15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 12.22-3
- (instrumental dative as in AG)
- ἐσγάψαν τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐμπῆκαν μέσα, καὶ ἐπροσεύχονταν τῷ Θεῷ
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 30.5-6
- (+ dative in AG, though normally used absolutely in New Testament)
- λέγουσιν ... πῶς ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἀναπνοῇ σὰν ἕναν ζύγιν αἱ πρᾶξεις τῶν ἀν(θρώπων)
ζυγιάζονται καὶ δοκιμάζονται 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 567-8

5.2 Complements of Nouns

Complementation of nouns is frequent, although not mandatory as it is with verbs or prepositions: participants fulfilling key semantic roles are not always represented by concrete linguistic expressions (e.g. *her marriage (to John)*, *her claim (that X)*).

5.2.1 Subjective and Objective Genitives

The genitive subjects of NPs headed by nouns denoting actions (usually deverbal nouns) are not, strictly speaking, complements of the relevant head nouns any more than the subjects of sentences containing the related verbs are complements of those verbs. On the other hand, nouns denoting actions, or the agents of actions, may take true genitive NP complements, with a role corresponding to that of the direct object of the related transitive verb. Despite this grammatical difference it is convenient to treat subjective and objective genitives together in that they have the same syntactic distribution, appearing after the head noun unless preposed for emphasis or contrast (though preposing is often employed *metri gratia* in verse texts without obvious emphasis). In practice, therefore, co-occurrence of subjective and objective genitives is rare, and occurs only in early/more literary texts:

- τοῦ Καλλιμάχου ζήτησις πάλιν πρὸς Χρυσορρόην τῆς πατρικῆς γεννήσεως, τῆς
χώρας καὶ τοῦ πάθους 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 600-1

The need for a double genitive construction is avoided by replacing one with a prepositional phrase (normally headed by *ἀπὸ* for subjective genitives, *εἰς/πρὸς/μέ* etc. for objective genitives; see Rule (72) NOTE (i) for examples of the latter).

(71) A NP in construction with a noun denoting an action may fulfil a role analogous to that of a subject in a sentence; such NPs are inflected in the genitive.

It is difficult to draw a line between subjective and possessive genitives (for which see 5.1.4.2); genitives are treated here as subjective when the head noun denotes something clearly more active than a simple property or quality of the NP in question.

- κατὰ τὸ πείν τοὺς πραγματευτάδες καὶ τοῦ ναυκλέρου καὶ τοὺς ναύτας
15th c./?13th c., Cyprus, *Assizes* B 296.16-17
- ἢ δὲ ἡ ρήγαινα ἐκάτζειν εἰς τὸν ἡλιακὸν εἰς τὸ διάβαν τοὺς καβαλλάριδες καὶ ὅλου
τοῦ λαοῦ 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 50.12-13
- εἶδαμεν τὲς ἀναζητήσεις τοῦ ἑνὸς μέρου καὶ τὲς ἀποκρίσεις τοῦ ἑτέρου μέρου πολλὰς
καὶ πλείστας φορές 1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 10, 63.4
- ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγκάλης καὶ κυβερνήσεως ἐνοῦ πριντζίπου τόσο γλυκότατου
1671, Cythera, PSARAS 1989: 150.16

(72) A NP in construction with a noun denoting an action, or the agent of an action, may fulfil a role analogous to that of the object of a transitive verb; such NPs are inflected in the genitive.

With Action Nouns

ὁ τρέχων εἰς τὸν κόσμον, οὐκ ἔχει φόβον πενθερᾶς 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 126-7
τῶν ὀδυνῶν μου κουφισμόν, ἐπαύξησιν ζωῆς μου καὶ τῆς πνοῆς μου σύστασιν πῶς
 νὰ τὴν ξεπλέξω; ?12th c. or 13th-14th c., *Eisit.* f.8r.7-10

καὶ εἰς πόθον τῆς ἀγάπης σου ἔφερεν τὴν ψυχὴν μου
 15th c./14th-15th c., *Achil.* L 723

ἐτρέχασιν ὅλοι ἀπὸ τὸν φόβον τοῦ βασιλέως, ... ὁδία νὰ κάμη θυσίαν τῶν
ψευδωνύμων θεῶν 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.5-7

With Agent Nouns

ἤκουσαν τὰ δικαιώματα ... τοῦ κύρ Μιχέλη Γκελάρδου καὶ κυράτζα Θουμαγῆς ὡς
 κυβερνήτρα τῶν παιδιῶν της 1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 46, 43.2-4

ἔπεμψε τὸ παράκλητον Πνεῦμα εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους του μαθητὰς καὶ θεωροὺς τῶν
μυστηρίων του 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 31.1-2

NOTE

- (i) With certain head nouns, particularly when these are not formally action nouns (i.e. ending in -σις, -ισμός etc.), and also with some adjectives, a prepositional phrase may be used instead of a genitive, sometimes with a slight difference of meaning (cf. *love of X* and *love for X*). Each such lexical item selects a characteristic preposition or set of prepositions:

ἀγάπην εἶχεν ἄπειρον εἰς αὐτὴν ὁ πατήρ της καὶ ἀπὲ τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν πολλὴν ἦν
πρὸς ἐκείνην εἶχεν 15th-16th c./14th-15th c., *Achil.* N 759-60

ἀπ' ἐκεῖ πάλε ἄρχεψεν ἡ ἔχθρα μὲ τοὺς ἀδελφούς τοῦ ἀντρός της
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 312.2-3

ἦτονε μαθηματικὴ εἰς τὰ γράμματα πολλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἔμπειρη
 1565-75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.7

5.2.2 Partitive Genitives

(73) Nouns and pronouns denoting a part/subset of a larger whole may take a genitive NP complement denoting the relevant whole.

Other than in very early and archaizing texts, NPs whose heads take a definite partitive complement are themselves normally definite, perhaps reflecting a growing avoidance of combinations of NPs that disagree in definiteness.

αὐτὸς ὁ Εὐλάλιος καὶ ἂν ἔλθῃ καὶ ὁ Χήναρος ἐκεῖνος ... οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ζωγράφων,
τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἐξορθώνουσι 15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 43-5

αἰσχύνονται τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ πλῆθος
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 120

τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐλαττωμένον εἶχε 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 288

ἐπέθανεν τὸ ἥμισον τοῦ νησιῶ 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 60.26-7

NOTES

- (i) Exceptions to the definiteness requirement are rare and early:

τινὲς δὲ τῶν χιρεκάκων ἠνέφεραν τὸν αὐθέντην μου
 ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.31

- (ii) A prepositional phrase headed by ἀπό/ἐκ is normally used instead of a genitive when the head is a bare numeral or an indefinite pronoun/quantifier. This allows an indefinite NP to stand in construction with a definite NP without violation of the definiteness constraint:

μίαν ἀπὸ τὰς πρόκριτας εἰς ἣν ἐθάρρει πλέον, παρήγγειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς δλους
 νὰ προλάβῃ ?12th c. or 13th-14th c., *Eisit.* f.3r.9-12

τὸ πῶς ἡγάπα κ' ἤθελεν κάλλιον νὰ εἶχεν χάσει μίαν ἀπὸ τὲς χώρες του ἐκ τὲς
καλλιωτέρες του 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7085-6

ἔκραξε δύο ἀπὸ τοὺς Ρωμαίους καὶ γράφει τοὺς πιττάκια
 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8319

καὶ εἰς ἐκ τοὺς φιλόσοφους τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐλόλπει 16th c./14th c., *Byz. II.* 846

πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς καβαλλάριδες ἀχόρταγοι καὶ πτωχοὶ ἐβάλαν τὰ χέρια τους
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 82.27-8

δὲ τοῦ ἀβοήθησε τινὰς ἀπὸ τὰ παιδιά μου
 1642, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 246, 197.31

κάτι γοῦν ἀπὸ ἐκείνους τοὺς πειράτες, ... ἐπήγασιν τρέχοντας γοργόν
 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 16.16-19

- (iii) The prepositional phrase construction is also used when expressions of this kind have uniquely identified referents (= "the one of the pair/set of X with some distinguishing property"):

ἔκραξε δύο ἀπὸ τοὺς Ρωμαίους καὶ γράφει τοὺς πιττάκια· ὁ ἕνας ἀπὸ αὐτοὺς τὸ
ἔγραψεν ὅπου ἔξευρεν νὰ γράφῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8319-20

βρεῖ θέλει τρόπον ὁμορφο νὰ δῇ νὰ τσῆ μιλήσῃ, τὸν ἕνα ἀπὸ τοῦ τσι δυὸ τῶνε νὰ
πάρῃ, ὅποιον ὀρίσῃ 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Erof.* II.19-20

5.2.3 Clausal Complements

(74) Many nouns take clausal complements, especially those formally and/or semantically related to verbs with clausal complements (see Chapter 2). The type of complement in any given case is largely determined by the meaning class of the noun in question.

With (τοῦ/διὰ) νὰ

Clausal complements of nouns with meanings related to those of control verbs ("power", "decision", "command", "hope", "promise", "intention" etc.) normally take complements containing subjunctive verb forms marked with νὰ. With some nouns, especially in the "hope"/"promise" domain, there is overlap between νὰ-clauses and clauses introduced by ὅτι/πῶς (see below).

- ἀπόκρισιν τοῦ ἔδωκεν πρόθυμα νά τὸ ποιήσῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5677
 ἐγὼ σὲ παραδίδω τὴν ἀφεντίαν ὅπου κρατῶ νά στήκῃς διὰ τὴν κούρτην, νά κρένῃς
 γὰρ καὶ νά κρατῇς τὸ δίκαιον μετ' ὁν νόμον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7539-41
 ἔχει ἐλπίδα εἰς τὸν Θεὸν πολλὰ νά τὸ ἀγαπήσῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8699
 μετὰ τοῦτο νά 'χῃ ὁμπλεγο νά τόνε πάρῃ, σὰν ἀποθάνῃ, νά τόνε κηβέψῃ στὸ
 ἄνωθεν μοναστήρι καὶ νά τόνε μνημονεύῃ
 1610, Crete (Rethymno region), BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 662, 576.11-12

NOTES

- (i) The negative in *νά*-clauses is *μή(ν)*, though *νά* may then be omitted (in verse texts often *metri gratia*):

βουλὴν ἠπῆρεν μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον μή χάσῃ 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1024
 δίδοντας δρδενε νά μὴν πγισίνῃ τινὰς ἐκεῖ 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.34

- (ii) *Νά*-clauses complementing verbs may contain the genitive article τοῦ (see 2.2, Rule (26) NOTE (ii)), but this occurs with nouns in only a few examples from the *Chronicle of Morea* where there is a pause or significant gap between the noun and its dependent clause:

ἰσιάστησαν μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τέτοιες συμφωνίες τοῦ νά τοῦ δώσῃ τὸ Κουμοῦ ...
 τέσσαρα κάτεργα καλὰ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2779-82
 ἐποίησε γὰρ ὁ πρίγκιπας τὸ ὁμάτζιον πρὸς τὸν ρῆγα τοῦ νά κρατῇ τὸν τόπον
 τοῦ ἀπὸ τὸν ρῆγα Κάρλον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 6477-8

- (iii) Rarely, and chiefly in later texts from Crete and Cyprus, *νά*-complements may also be preceded by *διά*, which again tends to be used when there is a gap between a noun and its dependent clause, but this is by no means a requirement:

ἐγδέχοντο μαντάτον ἀπὸ τὴν Κύπρον, διά νά 'ρτῃ, νά τοῦ δώσου τὴν
 ὀρχιεπισκοπήν 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 14.7-8
 τὰ στεκάμενα ὅπου ἀγόρασε τοῦ μοναστηρίου ἦτονε ἀφορμή διά νά μὴν ἔλθῃ
 κακὸς γείτονας εἰς τὸ μοναστήρι 1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.43-4

Indirect Questions

Nouns with an appropriate meaning may take an indirect question as a complement (see also 2.4). Interrogative phrases in clause-initial position regularly attract the verb (cf. 1.4, Rules (16), (17), (18)), with overt subjects then following.

Indirect questions complementing nouns are less liable to nominalization with *τό* than those with verbs (2.4, Rule (31) NOTE (i)), though the option is common with stereotyped periphrases meaning “consider”/“decide” in which a semantically “light” verb (= “give”, “take”, “make”) is combined with *βουλὴν* as its object.

καὶ τότε δίδουν τὴν βουλὴν τὸ ποῦ νά πᾶν νά κλέψουν 15th c., *Diig. Ven.* 81
χωρὶς νά ἔχῃς ἐννοιαν ἵντα νά τοὺς πλερώσῃς
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.32-3

- ἐποίησαν βουλὴν τί νά ποιήσουν εἰς ἐτουτουνούς τοὺς κακοποιούς ἀνθρώπους
 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* E 171.3-4 (Lolos)
 ἐποίησεν βουλὴν τὸ τί νά ποιήσουνε εἰς ἐτουτουνούς τοὺς κακοποιούς ἀνθρώπους
 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 170.3-4 (Lolos)
 ἔπεσεν εἰς λογισμὸν μέγα, τὸ πῶς νά ποιήσῃ νά μὴδὲν ἐντροπιαστῇ
 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* K 361.27-8
 μετὰ μεγάλη ἐννοια βρίσκομαι πῶς περνᾷ ἡ πανιερότῃ σου
 1612, Crete (Chania region), CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.9-10
 λέγοντας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέαν τὴν ἀφορμήν, διατί δὲν τὸν ἐχάλασεν
 17th c., *Vios Aisop.* I 275.37-8

With *μή(ν)/μήπως* καὶ

In parallel with semantically related verbs (see 2.3), nouns meaning “fear”/“anxiety” etc. may take a complement clause introduced by *μή(ν)/μήπως* καὶ (with negative *οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)* δέν). As fear is typically for what may happen in the future, the verb forms attested are overwhelmingly subjunctive, though the particle *νά* is not normally employed in this inherently modal domain.

The usual integrity of the *μή(ν)* + verb combination is retained even though the negative here has acquired pseudo-complementizer status; *μή(ν)* and the verb are therefore adjacent (apart from clitic pronouns), and overt subjects follow.

εἶχεν μέγαν φόβον μή πιάσῃ καὶ τυφλώσῃ τον, εἰς φυλακὴν τὸν βάλῃ καὶ λάβῃ
ἄδικον θάνατον καὶ χάσῃ τὸ κορμὶ του 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4891-3
 ὁ νοῦς μου σ' ἐγνοια μπαίνει, μὴν εἴν' κιανεῖς στὸ σπῆτι της καὶ βρίσκεται κρυμμένος
 16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.94-5
 ἔχοντας ρεσπέτο ..., μήπως καὶ δώσου του κιανένα καιρὸ καμίας λογῆς πείραξῃ
 1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 193, 202-203.4-5

With (ὁ)πού

A noun that is *factive* (see 2.1, Rule (24)) may take a complement introduced by (ὁ)πού + indicative. The construction seems to be of relatively recent origin (16th c. onwards): in earlier texts, as well as sometimes also after the 16th c., we find simply *ὅτι/πῶς* (see immediately below for more examples).

Factive with *ὅτι/πῶς*

εὐρέθη τὸ ἀληθές, ὅτι ἡ ἐλαία ἐνι τῆς μονῆς τοῦ πατᾶ κύρ Διονυσίου
 1395, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1968: 8, 76.20
 μά ἔχει μεγάλη παραπόνεση πῶς δὲ τῇ στέλνῃ ἡ πανιερότῃ σου δυὸ λόγια
 1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 3, 169.3-4

Factive with (ὁ)πού

τοῦτο ἦτονε μέγα θαῦμα ... ὅπου ἡ κιβωτὸς ... ἐξεβλάστωσεν καὶ ἔκαμε κλωνάρια
καὶ φύλλα καὶ ἄνθη καὶ καρπὸν εὐμορφότατον
 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.27-36

- όπου υπήγεν ο Καισαρείας εις τόν Πάπαν, ειδησιν δέν ηξευρε
16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 179–80
- οι Σαρακηνοί ... είχανε μεγάλην χαρά, όπου ήρθε προφήτης εις τόν τόπον τους
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 128.13–14
- τό 'χω μεγάλο παράπονο όπου οι άλλοι πραγματευτάδες έλαβαν γραφήν από
τούς Κοθωναίους στις 15 Νοεμβρίου
1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 19, 218.2–5

With *οτι/(τό) πώς*

Nouns semantically related to verbs of declaration, belief etc. routinely take complements introduced by *οτι/(τό) πώς* with an indicative (negative *οὐ(κ)/οὐδέ(ν)*) or *νά* + subjunctive (negative *μή(ν)*); the two items are more or less functionally equivalent, though *οτι* is more formal/traditional in character and *πώς* allows for nominalization.

In the “hope/promise” domain *οτι/πώς*-clauses containing verb forms marked with *νά* alternate with bare *νά*-clauses (on which see above).

In earlier/more learned texts subjects may come immediately after *οτι* and stand directly before the verb; the normal order in a *πώς*-clause is complementizer–verb–subject, and *οτι*-clauses increasingly follow this pattern in more vernacular texts.

οτι

- εύρέθη τό αληθές, οτι ή έλαία ενι τής μονής του παπα κϋρ Διονυσίου
1395, Athos, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΕΣ 1968: 8, 76.20
- μανδάτον γάρ τόν ήφερα ... οτι την γην εφθάσαμεν 15th–16th c./14th c., *Poulol.* 577–8
- εθιόρκισέν τον οτι να μὲν θελήση ποττέ να ποίση τίτοιον κακόν, οτι δυό
πρωτανισία να σμικτούν 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 34.6–8
- είχεν έλπίδα οτι θέλει του κάμει να ιδη και αυτός κανένα θαῦμα
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 374.32–3
- από κεϊ έβγήκε ο λόγος οτι απόθανε ο σουλτάν Μουράτης και εκάθησε βασιλεύς ο
υιός αυτού ο Μπαγιαζίτης 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.7–9
- από τότε εκάμασι νόμον οι Τουρκοι οτι ... να πιάνουσι οι καπικηδες τα δύο του
χέρια 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.34–5

(τό) πώς

- εφεραν του μαντάτον πώς είνε εις την Καλοψιδαν
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 632.33–4
- επήγεν τό μαντάτον εις τόν ρήγαν πώς ήρτεν ο αποστολές εις την Κυπρον
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 18.17–18
- δὲ μπορώ, ... παρὰ ... τὰ πάθη ν' απομένω μ' έλπίδα πώς κιαμιά φορά ν' αλλάξη ο
λογισμός σου, να μου χαρίση ανάπαυση ο πόθος ο δικός σου
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* II.363–6
- καλώς τό πιάσε ή χέρα μου τό μαρμαρένιο χέρι, κείνο που έλπίδα μου 'δωκε τό πώς
σε κάνω τσίρι 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.1491–2

- ήλθεν μαντάτο τό πώς χειροτονήθη άλλος αρχιερεύς και έρχεται και τότες
εβγάλλει ένα γράμμα ..., τό πώς με κάθηρες, και να μη συνάξω καμμίας λογής
εισόδημα από την έπαρχίαν 1622, ?Karpathos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: B, 300.6–10
- ειδησιν διδω τής βασιλείας σου, πώς εις τās δέκα του 'Οκτωμβρίου μηνός ήλθαμεν
Στοκόλμ 1654, Stockholm (author from Athens), TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 56.11
- πώς είσθεν όλοι σας κουφοί μαντάτο πα να δώσω 17th c., KONDAR., *Paidēs* 16

NOTE

- (i) “Οτι is also used to introduce direct speech, particularly in stylistically less ambitious texts/documents:

- εφεραν τόν πατέρα του μηνύματα βαρέα οτι: “Τινές άλλογενείς τες χῶρες σου
κουρσεύουν ...” 15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 101–2
- εποίησαν βουλήν οτι τόν 'Αλέξανδρον να μη τόν έχωμεν εις τό κάστρον μας
16th c., *Diig. Alex.* E 163.5–6 (Lolos)
- έν τῷ ἄμα του έστειλε λόγον οτι: “Ο πατέρας σου σε θέλει να σου όμιλήση”
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.3–4

With *και*

A formally coordinated *και*-clause may be substituted for a wide range of sentential complements to verbs (see Chapter 2) but is comparatively rare with nouns.

- τούτον ήτον ή άφορμή, και όργη του θεού έππεσεν άπάνω τους
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 16.12–16
- εύρέθην εκεί ο άμιρās όνόματι Μεχλίν Πέχνα, όπου ήτον άφορμή και αρχεύτην ή
μάχη 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 206.27–8
- αν έπεθάναν όλοι οι Γενουβίσοι, και θέλει έρτειν καιρός και ο δαρμένος θέλει δέρειν!
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 208.1–4
- τά μαῦρα έσύ 'σουν άφορμή κι' έριξα, σα θυμάσαι
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* II.359
- έκείνη του 'διδε άφορμή κ' ήμπαينه σ' έτοια κρίση
18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1150

5.3 Adjuncts of Nouns

5.3.1 Genitive Adjuncts

See Rule (69) above.

5.3.2 Articles and Other Determiners

5.3.2.1 Definite NPs and the Definite Article

- (75) The use of a definite NP in LMedG/EMG presupposes that its referent can be uniquely identified within the relevant universe of discourse.

Definiteness may be *semantic* (NPs with inherently unique referents independently of context) or *pragmatic* (NPs whose unique identification depends crucially on the specific context). The definite article is used in LMedG/EMG to mark both semantic and pragmatic definiteness, though its appearance is by no means universal in that definiteness is a given in the former case and may be so strongly invited in the latter as to seem redundant (see below for details).

The article is the initial element of a definite NP (apart from any items preposed for emphasis/contrast), though in a series of conjoined definite NPs, or definite NPs in apposition, it is not uncommon for the first alone to be overtly determined:

- ὁ σελας καὶ σαμαρᾶς χρώνται καὶ οὗτοι ταῦτα καὶ ὅπου δ' ἂν καὶ χρειαστοῦν,
εὐρίσκουν με εἰς δέμαν 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 626-7
- ὁ Νικόλας καὶ μαστρ' Αντρέας καὶ Γεώργης, ἀδελφοὶ Μαρκόπουλοι, ἦρθαν στή
παροῦσαν σύβαση καὶ οἱ τρεῖς θεληματικοὶ
1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 841, 733.2-3

Semantic Definiteness

The article appears frequently in NPs containing a modifier that confers uniqueness (e.g. "the biggest X", "the one/the other X", "the first etc. X" of a known set), in generic/abstract NPs (e.g. "the truth" as a concept/ideal, "the dog" as a species, "the rich" as a class), in NPs headed by unique reference nouns (e.g. "the sun", "the capital of Italy") and with proper names used referentially; but optionality persists, especially in earlier texts, poetry and those prose genres (mainly legal and religious) shaped by more traditional conventions.

Already by the 9th c., however, articles are used with some regularity to mark semantic definiteness in ordinary vernacular discourse, and by the end of our period the article is well on its way to becoming a conventionalized marker of such inherent definiteness (much as in MG).

- ἐκ νεότητός μου ἐπόθησα τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην 11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 676-7
- λαβὼν μόνον τοῦτον σὺ ἀπότρεχε, μὴ ἐξαργῇ τὸ ἕτερόν σου βοῖδιν
11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 124-5
- ὁ διάβολος ... ἐζήλωσεν αὐτὸν ὥς ποτε τὸν Ἰῶβ ... Οὐδὲν γὰρ θαυμαστὸν ἔφησεν ...
ποιήσῃν τὸν ἄνδρα ... παρέχων τοῖς πένησιν
11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 34-9
- τῆς δὲ χήρας αἱ θυγατέρες, ἡ μὲν πρώτη ἡ Μαρία, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα Μυρανθία, ἡ δὲ
τρίτη Εὐανθία 11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 477-8
- ὡς χριστιανοὶ φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, νὰ εἰπῇτε καὶ νὰ κρίνετε ἔσω
στὸ δίκαιο ἀπάνω
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2359-60
- ὁ δ' Ἀχιλλεύς ἀκούσας, ... φέρνει στράτευμα Βουλγάρων
15th c./14th c., *ERMON., Ilias* 3.236-8
- ἀπέθανε καὶ ἡ δέσποινα κυρὰ Ἄννα ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωσσίας λοιμῶδει νόσῳ
15th c., *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 12.22-3
- τοῦ ἡλίου εἶπεν νὰ σταθῇ κ' ἐστάθηκεν στήν ὥραν 17th c., *KONDAR., Paidēs* 37

The article does, however, remain optional, as noted:

- οὐκ εἶν ... περὶ πίστεως δόγματος 12th c./11th c., *NIKON, Logos* 9 314.7-8
- πόθος γὰρ πόθου στερηθεὶς ὑπομονὴν οὐκ ἔχει
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 16
- ἀφόντι ἐσώσθη τὸ σπῖτι, ἔκαμαν λογαριασμόν, εἰς ὅσες ἡμέρες ἔκαμεν δουλειὰν καὶ εἰς
ὅσες δὲν ἔκαμεν· καὶ δὲν χρεωστεῖ ἕνας τὸν ἄλλον
post 1427, Unknown, *HUNGER/VOGEL* 1963: 73, 56.3-5
- βασιλεύει ἡλῖος, τὰ δένδρη γὰρ λαλοῦσι, καὶ ἡ φωνὴ τοὺς ἰνδική, δὲν ξεύρω τί μιλοῦσι
16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 2113-14
- ἐτότες εἶδα φανερά νὰ ρίξῃ με μεγάλη σπουδὴ στὸ στήθος μου Ἐρωτας χίλιες σαῖτες
πάλι 17th c./16th c., *CHORTATZIS, Panor.* I.329-30
- ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτισε με νερόν· ἀμὴ ἐσεῖς θέλετε βαπτισθεῖ με Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον εἰς ὀλίγες
ἡμέρες 17th c., *KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath., Praxeis* 1.5

Pragmatic Definiteness

The article is regularly used to mark pragmatic definiteness, e.g. when a NP is used anaphorically (e.g. *She met a man on the train. The man ...*), when a NP is definite through a familiar association (e.g. *She has a new car. The clutch ...*) or when a NP has a restrictive modifier, typically an adjective, appositive NP, genitive or relative clause, suggesting unique identifiability in context (e.g. *The book on the shelf ...*).

- ἦν τις ἄνθρωπος ... τοῦνομα Φιλάρετος, καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἦν εὐγενής
11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 5-6
- σπόγγισον τὴν τράπεζαν τὴν ἀρχαίαν τὴν ἐλεφάντινον
11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 408-9
- διέρχεται τοὺς ἐσφραγισμένους τρεῖς μεγάλους δρυῖς ..., ὡσαύτως καὶ τὴν μεγάλην
κουτουλήν καρέαν, καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν τριστελέγχον καρέαν καὶ τὸν ἱστάμενον
πλησίον αὐτῆς δρυῖν 1090-4, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 45, 164.50-1
- ἔβαλαν οὖν διαλαλητὴν λαγὸν τὸν μεγαλάπτην, ... ἵνα συνάξῃ πάντας καὶ νὰ ἴδωσιν
τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς ἀποκρισιάρους 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 44-6
- ἐν μηνὶ αὐγούστῳ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἡ δέσποινα κυρὰ Ἄννα ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωσσίας λοιμῶδει
νόσῳ, καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῇ τοῦ Λιβὸς μονῇ 15th c., *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 12.22-3
- τότε ἐξέβαλεν Φλαβιανὸν ... ὁ ἐπικατάρτος βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἐχειροτόνησε
Σεβήρον ... τὸν δὲ Φλαβιανὸν ἐξόρισεν εἰς Πέτρας 15th c., *Hist. Imp.* IIb 641-3
- ἤυρεν πτωχὸν γέρον εἰς τὰ ὄρη ... καὶ ἀποκαλύφθη τοῦ μοναχοῦ ἡ Θεοτόκος
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 36. 22-8
- ὁ ἄνωθεν κυρ-Γαλιάτσος δίδει τὴν ἀγγελίαν τοῦ τὴν ἄνωθεν τῇ μαύρῃ τοῦ ἄνωθεν
κυρ-Γεωργηλά, νὰ σπεῖρῃ ὁφέτος
1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 57, 77.6-7
- τοὺς ἐζήτησε τὸ κάστρο τὴν Φιλαδελεῖαν 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.12
- λύσον ταύτην τὴν γραφὴν, διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ Θεοῦ
1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.59-60

τὸ πρῶτον ψάρι ὁποῦ ἔβγη, πιάσ' το 17th c., KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 17.27
 μοῦ ἔφεραν μαλλι φαγγότα 65 ... * στείλε μου τὸν λογαριασμό
 1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 8, 214.3–5

But the anaphoric article may be omitted, especially in more informal genres, as in the following extract from a contract in which “(the) sellers and (the) buyer” have already been introduced by name:

τὸν ἐπέψασι πουλητάδες καὶ ἀγοραστής
 1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 9, 31.10–11

The article marking definiteness by association is also optional, particularly when a series of nouns is linked in this way to an earlier NP:

τοὺς οὐρανοὺς τοὺς θαυμαστοὺς ὥρισεν κ' ἐγενήκαν, ὅστρον, φεγγάριν κ' ἥλιος τότε
 εὐθὺς ἐβγήκαν 15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 19–20
 κάλλιο νὰ ἦμαι ὑπόδουλος τοῦ βασιλέως, παρὰ ν' ἀρνηθῶ τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ μου
 καὶ πιστεύω πατέρα, υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.16–18

And since, in the absence of indications to the contrary, restrictive modifiers strongly promote definite readings of the NPs containing them, the relevant article is frequently omitted as redundant. The optionality persists through our period and is particularly noteworthy for NPs inside prepositional phrases.

ἦν τις ἄνθρωπος ἐν χώρᾳ τῶν Παφλαγόνων 11th c./9th c., Vios Philaret. 5
 ἀλλὰ περὶ πράξεως ἐνὶ καὶ ἐγκράτειαν τὴν ἐπαινομένην παρὰ πᾶσαν θεῖαν γραφήν
 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.8–9
 ἔτεκαν παῖδα θαυμαστὸν, τὸν Διγενὴν Ἀκρίτην, φωστήραν τὸν αὐγερινόν, ἥλιον τὸν
φωσφόρον 15th c./12th c., Dig. E
 ἐτάφη εἰς τὸ πάνσεπτον ναὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τοῦ Γερακιώτου ἐδῶ εἰς
πόρταν τὴν βασιλικήν 1387, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 96, 99.3–5
 ἴντσι παρακαλῶ τὴ πανιερότη σου νὰ μοῦ θυμᾶσαι, γι' ἀγάπη τ' ἀφέντη τοῦ
Χριστοῦ 1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.5–6
 θέλω τὰ φορτώσει μὲ πρῶτο καράβι ποὺ νὰ ἔρθη στὸ Δυρράχιο
 1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 8, 214.4–5

NOTES

- (i) The most neutral position for an attributive adjective within a definite NP is between the article and the noun (ὁ σοφὸς X), though the option of placing the adjective after the noun with a repeated article is very common (ὁ X ὁ σοφός). The second type, involving “double definiteness” or “determiner spreading”, may be used specifically to indicate that the adjective denotes an already familiar property of the relevant entity, thus serving as the main identifier of the referent of the NP:
- τοῦτο ψευδὲς ἐνόμιζον, ὅλως οὐκ ἐδεχόμεν, τὸ λέγουσιν οἱ χωρικοὶ καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ
δημῶδης 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 19–20

τὸ μεγαλογράμματον ἱμάτιν τὸ κνηκᾶτον ἢ χάρισον ἢ πώλησον ἢ δὸς ὁποῦ
 κελεύεις 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 60–1
 ὁ βασιλιάς ἐποῖκεν νὰ τὸν μάθουσιν τὴν ἁγίαν πίστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν καθολικὴν
 16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 150.15–16

- (ii) Non-agreeing adverbial modifiers may also occupy the two adjectival slots within definite NPs, though the position between article and noun is typical of formulaic expressions in formal/legal discourse (“the above mentioned Mr X” etc.):

ὁ ἄνωθεν κυρ-Γαλιάτσος δίδει τὴν ἀγγελίαν τοῦ τὴν ἄνωθεν τὴ μαύρη τοῦ ἄνωθεν
κυρ-Γεωργηλά, νὰ σπεύρῃ ὁφέτος 1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 57, 77.6–7
 τὸ χωράφι τὸ μέσα ὁποῦ ἔχουνε φυτεμένο σταφίδα
 1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 15, 39.6

- (iii) The neutral position for genitives within a definite NP is postnominal:

ἄς ἔχη τὸ χαρτί σου (καὶ) τ' ὄνομα τοῦ δικαστοῦ 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 493–4
τὰ μετρητὰ τοῦ πεθεροῦ μου μὲ πρῶτο καράβι ὅπου θέλει ἔρθει νὰ μᾶς τὰ στείλῃς
 1697, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 64, 240.4–5

Determiner spreading with genitives, however, is relatively rare, occurring mostly in early/archaizing texts and in verse:

ὁ δ' Ἀχιλλίος ἀκούσας, ὁ υἱὸς ὁ τοῦ Πηλέως, φέρνει στράτευμα Βουλγάρων
 15th c./14th c., ERMON., *Ilias* 3.236–8
 τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὸ καθαρὸν τὸ στίλβον τὸ τοῦ κάλλους
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 179

- (iv) Phrasal modifiers that normally occupy postnominal positions may be fronted before the definite article for emphasis or contrast. Preposed adjectival/adverbial expressions necessarily show determiner spreading, preposed genitives do so comparatively rarely (cf. (i)–(iii) above).

Determiner spreading in preposed/focalized constituents (so called “reverse determiner spreading”) is an innovation of LMedG/EMG, indicating a shift in the status of definite postnominal modifiers from clarificatory/appositional adjuncts that automatically followed the head in AG to restrictive modifiers amenable to the rules of focalization in LMedG/EMG:

ἦλθασιν καὶ ἡῦρασιν τὸ ἐρμηνευθὲν τὸ ρυάκιν 15th c./12th c., Dig. E 78
ὁ Μέγας ὁ Δεμέστικος ἐπίστεψεν τοῦ Φράγκου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4971
 εἰς τὴν κλίνην Παλαμήδους τηνικαῦτα γοῦν τὸν θέτει τὸ τοῦ δόλου τὸ χαρτίον
 15th c./14th c., Epirus, ERMON., *Ilias* 6.216–18
τὸν τοῦ λουτροῦ τὸν ποταμὸν ὁλόχρυσον ἂν εἴποις
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 799
 ἐδώκαμεν πρὸς τὸν τιμιότατον κύρ Μιχάλην τὸν Καθολικὸν τὸ ἐν τῇ τοποθεσίᾳ
τοῦ Σαράβαρη τὸ ἀμπέλιον 14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 147.2–3

ἔχομεν μέγαν κίνδυνον ἀπὸ τὰ κορσάρικα τὰ καράβια

1696, Dytachion, MERTZIOS 1947a: 7, 214.14–15

βουλὴν ἐποίκασιν οἱ ἀπιστοὶ ... νὰ ἀπεράσουσι στὸν Μορέα, κουρσεύοντας καὶ τοῦ
κόρφου τὲς μεριές

18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 15.12–16

5.3.2.2 Indefinite NPs and Indefinite Determiners

(76) The use of an indefinite NP indicates that the intended referent(s) cannot be identified uniquely in the relevant domain of discourse due to lack of relevant knowledge and/or the necessary contextual information.

Indefiniteness is marked in a variety of ways in LMedG/EMG, as explained below.

Zero Article

Unquantified mass and abstract nouns with existential (i.e. non-generic) meanings standardly appear without an article or other determiner.

τρόμος λοιπὸν κατέλαβε καὶ φόβος τὴν ψυχὴν μου

13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 52

εἶσαι μπάιλος σήμερον καὶ ἔχεις ἐξουσίαν

16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 7917

μὲ μεγάλη ἔννοια βρίσκομαι πῶς περνᾷ ἡ πανιερότη σου

1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.9–10

φαπτό νὰ φάγη δὲ ζητᾷ μηδὲ πιετὸ γυρεύγει

18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.736

But indefinite NPs in general, both singular and plural, may lack overt determination throughout the period of this Grammar:

εἶχε δὲ καὶ σύμβιον τοῦνομα Θεοσεβοῦν

11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 16

ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτὸν προσαιτῆς

11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 21

ὀρίζει φέρετε ἱατροὺς, τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα

14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 564 app. crit. (H)

ἀρχάγγελος τοὺς ἔδωξε ὡγιά νὰ καταντήσουν ὀλόγδυμοι, ξυπόλυτοι ἔξω τῆς
παραδείσου

15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 119–20

νεκροῦ φωνὴν ἐγροίκησα καὶ ὁ νοῦς μου ὀλος ἐχάθη

16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 22

ἔπεφεν δούκαν ὀνόματι Ἰσακίον

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 8.38–9

ἤρυν πτωχὸν γέρον εἰς τὰ ὄρη Μαραθάσας ὀνόματι Ἰσαῖας

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 36.22–3

κάτης καὶ ποντικὸς ἐμάχοντα

16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 28

ὀποτα ἔρθη πασάτσο καὶ δὲ μοῦ βαστοῦσι γραφή, μὲ μεγάλη ἔννοια βρίσκομαι πῶς
περνᾷ ἡ πανιερότη σου

1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.9–10

ἀπὸ τότε ἐκάμασι νόμον οἱ Τοῦρκοι

17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.34

Ἱστορία Γαλαξειδίου ἐβγαλμένη ἀπὸ παλαιὰ χερόγραφα, μεμβράνια, σιζιλία καὶ
χρυσόβουλλα αὐθεντικά

18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 13.1–3

NOTE

(i) Articles are also regularly absent from predicative NPs, since these do not refer but rather attribute a property to their subjects:

καταβλαττὰς ἂν ἔμαθον καὶ σηκωτὴς ἂν ἦμουν, ὡς σηκωτὴς νὰ ἐδούλευα τὴν
ἄπασαν ἡμέραν

14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 181–2

ἦτον δοῦκας Ἀθηνῶν, καλὸς ἀφέντης ἦτον

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7960

ἦτον παρθένος καὶ μετὰ τὴν γέννησιν πάλιν παρθένος ἔμεινεν

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.6–7

ὁθεν ἐγὼ γεννήθηκα ἄνθρωπος χωρὶς μάτια

17th c., PROSOPAS, *Peri tyflou* 103

Τις/τινάς

Singular and plural forms of *τις/τινάς* are used as indefinite pronouns and determiners throughout the period of this Grammar in both positive (= “some(one)”) and negative/affective (= “any(one)”) environments; in fact, affective environments often allow both forms (with subtle differences of meaning) and include interrogative, modal, habitual, conditional, future-referring and imperative sentences, i.e. those involving semantic functions that do not ensure truth.

Singular forms used as determiners are often all but indistinguishable from indefinite articles (= “an X”), plurals from indefinite quantifiers (= “some/any [number of] X”). As a determiner *τις/τινάς* normally precedes the head noun, but may also follow.

The use of *τις/τινάς* in the plural and in positive environments is in decline in the later medieval period, especially in more clearly vernacular texts (see below).

Positive

τινὸς δὲ γεωργοῦ πτωχοῦ ἀροτριῶντος καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν

11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 81–2

ἵνα ... λάβω τινὰν παραμυθίαν τῆς λύπης

11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 100–1

τινὲς ἄλλογενεῖς τὲς χώρες του κρουσεύουν

16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 120

διατὶ τινὲς εὐρίσκονται νὰ λέγουν ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα

15th c., LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 256

εἶχαν τινὰν δουλευτὴν

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 30.7

ἐγύρευγεν τινὰν ἐμπιστὸν ἄνθρωπον νὰ τοῦ τὸ δώση νὰ τῆς τὸ πάρῃ

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 408. 3–5

ρίκει σπίτια ἀρχοντικά ... καὶ ἄλλων πτωχῶν τινάδων

16th c., SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 21–2

τινὲς ἰδιῶτες ἔλεγον δένδρον τοῦ ἡλίου τὸ ἓνα καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ ἔλεγον δένδρον τοῦ
φεγγαρίου

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.21–2

ἦτονε τινὰς ἀφέντης καὶ ἐβασίλευεν ἐκεῖ

17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 42.1–2

Negative/Affective

ὁ κύρ Λούκας νὰ τὸ παραδῶση πρὸς τὸν Ἀνδρέαν χωρὶς λόγου τινὸς ἢ προφάσεως

1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.13–14

- ἂν ἔναι τινὰς ὅπου δὲν σὲ ἀκούει ἢ νὰ ποιῇ ἀταξίας
15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 100.5
- ἂν ἔν' καὶ ἰδῇς πτωχὸν τινὰν καὶ στάμενα νὰ μὴ ἔχη
16th c./15th c., DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2353
- ἔναι δύσκολον τινὰς νὰ τὸ πιστεύσῃ
16th c./15th c., DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1685
- διὰ τοῦτον δὲν ἔχω τινὰν ἀγκαρδιακὸν εἰς τὰ πράματά μου παρὰ ἐσέναν
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR. *Chron.*, A 48.5
- ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὴν «Ἔχεις μάρτυράς τινας;»
15th–16th c., *Porikol.* I 41–2
- εἰ εἶναι τινὰς ράπτῃς καὶ παίρνει ραπτικά ἀπὸ καλογέρους
1532, Macedonia, DELIALIS 1969: 251.70
- ἂν ὑπάγῃ τινὰς ἀποκρισάρης νὰ φιλήσῃ χέρι, νὰ πιάνουσι οἱ καπικῆδες τὰ δύο του
χέρια καὶ ἀπὸ κεῖ νὰ τὸ φιλήσῃ
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.34–5
- ὁ ἀδελφός σου ὁ Μουσουλμάνος κάμει πράματα, ὅπου δὲν πρέπει νὰ τὰ κάνῃ τινὰς
βασιλέας
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 45.7–8
- δύνεται τινὰς ἄνθρωπος νὰ πῇ ὅλην τὴν θάλασσαν;
17th c., *Vios Aisop.* I 267.23

In many vernacular texts from ca. 12th c. onwards τινὰς appears exclusively as a singular form in negative/affective environments with the meaning “any(one)”. In the specific case of negated sentences, AG τις = “any(one)” is required to fall within the scope of sentence negation, i.e. to the right of the negative marker (to the left τις = “some(one) [... not ...]”); by contrast, LMedG/EMG τινὰς in the relevant texts always means “any” whether it precedes or follows the negative marker (i.e. the equivalent of *anyone did not ... is grammatical with the meaning “no one did ...”).

Pronominal use of τινὰς is more common than use as an indefinite determiner.

τινὰς before a Negative Marker

- κακὸς ἐχθρὸς ἢ φυλακὴ ... μεσίτην οὐ προσδέχεται, φίλον τινὰ οὐκ ἔχει
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 239–40
- ποτὲ τινὰς οὐκ ἤκουσεν οὐδὲ εἶδε τοιοῦτον πρᾶγμα
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 369
- ἄλλον τινὰν φοβερισμόν ποσῶς οὐδὲν σᾶς λέγει
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1373
- κάλλος τινὰν οὐκ ὠφελεῖ, οὐ πλοῦτος, οὐδὲ ἀνδρεία
15th–16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 1916
- ἔσὺ τινὰν ποσῶς οὐδὲν φοβᾶσαι
15th c., LIMEN. *Than. Rod.* 206
- τινὰς ἄνθρωπος δὲν τὴν οἶδεν
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 401.9
- τινὰς δὲν τὴν ἐγνώρισε
18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1500
- ἄνθρωπον τινὰν δὲν ἐβλέπανε
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 111.22–3
- ὅλα τὰ ξυνὰ εἶναι ψυχρά καὶ δυσκοιλία, παύουσι τὴν δίψαν, ἀμὴ θροφὴν τινὰ δὲν
δίδουσι
17th c., LANDOS, *Georon.* 214.12

Εἷς/ἕνας

The numeral εἷς/ἕνας “one” is increasingly used as an indefinite article to replace the corresponding singular forms of τις/τινὰς, mainly in positive environments; in negative

environments, however, it may not precede the negative marker and the strengthened form κανεῖς/κανέννας is used in this role (see below).

Postnominal positioning is an option only in the oldest texts; otherwise this element almost always precedes the head noun (as expected of numerals).

- ὁμῶς οὐκ ἐν γωνίᾳ μιᾷ εἶτε εἰς μικράν τινα πόλιν καὶ οὐδαμινὴν γενομένην
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 4, 226.3–5
- ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ πύργου ἦτον μία γάτα καὶ κάτω εἰς τὸ θεμέλιον ἕνας
ποντικός
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 89, 76.1
- εὐρέθη ἐδῶ ... ὡσάν ἕναν πουλὶν εἰς τὸν κάμπον
1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 11, 68.2–3
- τὸ ψῆλος τοῦ νεροῦ ἔχει σημάδι ἕναν καρφίλ εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Γεώργιον τῶν Ὀρνιθίων
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 60.24
- ἀρχεύγει ἕναν ἔργον
15th–16th c., *Fior* 73.5
- ἦτον ἕνας ὀνόματι Μιχαὴλ Δούκας Γλαβᾶς
1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.3–4
- σ' ἕνα περβόλι εὐρίσκομου, ἕ μιὰ τάβλα μαρμαρένια μὲ φαγητὰ πολλῶ λογίων
πιτήδεα ὀρδινιασμένα
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.545–6
- ἔτσι κι ἐκείνη χεῖς καιρὸς θέλει τήνε μερώση
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.139
- ἐτότες ἐφάνηκε ἕνας καβαλάρης
18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 19.1–2

(Ὁ)κάτις/(ὁ)κάποιος

The positive indefinite pronouns/determiners (ὁ)κάτις/(ὁ)κάποιος “some(one)” are widely used in vernacular texts throughout the period of this Grammar to replace the corresponding uses of τις, both singular and plural; in the singular the meaning may often be very close to that of an indefinite article, as expected.

The two forms are functionally equivalent, and almost always precede the head noun when used as indefinite determiners.

The neuter form (ὁ)κάτι is sometimes used as an indeclinable positive indefinite specifier with nouns of any gender or number.

Despite the convention of printing the prefix ὁ- with a rough breathing, this may have originated as the negative οὐ- (also attested, again printed with a rough breathing) with a shift of meaning in the period before ca. AD 1000 from “not any (random) X” to “some (particular) X”. Prefixless forms become the norm towards the end of the period of this Grammar.

(ὁ)κάτις

- ἔάν γίνεταί ... ὅτι ὁκάτινες ἄνθρωποι, οὐ ὁκάτινες γυναῖκες παίρνει οὐ κλέπτει τὰς
ὀρνιθὰς μου
15th c./13th c., Assizes B 450.23
- ἔλεγε γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι ὁκάτις ῥήγας ἦλθεν
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 2765 app. crit. (A)
- ὁκάτις βασιλεὺς ... πολλὰ πράγματα ἐποίκει
16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 882
- ὁκάτι ψιθυρίσματα λαλεῖ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ της
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1164

- ἂν ἔναι κάτις εὐγενικός καὶ ἔχει τὸ κάλλος ἔμορφον 15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil. L* 192
 οὕτως τάχα ἔκαμαν ὀκάτι ψευδογάπη 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1979
ὀκάτι φράγκος ἀνθρώπος ... ἦλθεν ἀπὸ τὴν Πούλια 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 3548–53
 πείτε τῆς ὀκάτι καταλόγι 15th c., *LIMEN., Than. Rod.* 36
 ἦρθε ὀκάτις ἀδελφός 15th c., ?Athos, *VASMER* 1922: 180
ὀκάτιν μέγαν εὐγενή ... τὸν ἔσφαξεν Ἰάκωβος 16th c./15th c., *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 560–2
 ἂν ἔχω ὀκάτι ὑπομονήν τώρα εἰς τὴν θλίψιν τούτην 16th c./15th c., *DELLAP., Erot. apokr.* 662
 καὶ γροικῶντα κάτινες καβαλλάριδες πιστοὶ τοῦ ρηγός 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 42.33–4
ὀκάτι λόγος μου ἔσέβη εἰς τὰ ὦτα 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 210.19 (Lolos)
 ἔσπειρε στὸ χωράφι τῆς διάνοις κατινῶν παρανόμων κάποιον πρόφασιν 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 55
 ἐπούλησε τὸ Σάλονα ... εἰς κάτι Φραγγοπαπάδες 18th c., *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 40.17–19
 (ὀ)κάποιος
ὀκάποιος κᾶν γειτόνισσας ροῦχον νὰ ἐπαρελύθην 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 162
ὀκάποιος βασιλέας ... πολλὰ πράγματα ἔποιε 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 882
οὐκάποια τραγούδια ἔτραγουδοῦσαν 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 38.9 (Konstantinopulos)
 ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ ᾔχεν κάποια χωράφια καὶ ἄλλα πράγματα πουλημένα 1605, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 344, 323.2
 ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ ἤθελεν ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν μετὰ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὼς εἰς κάποια πράγματα 1616, Naxos, *KATSOUROS* 1968: 2, 28.10
 τὴν ὁποῖαν διήγησιν μοῦ εἶπασιν κάποιοι ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς ἀπὸ τὴν μέσαν χώραν τῆς Αἰθιοπίας 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 30.17–8

Κανείς/κανένας

The negative/affective indefinite pronoun/determiner *κανείς/κανένας* “any(one)” is widely used in vernacular texts to replace the corresponding uses of *τις/τινάς*, but in the singular only; its meaning may often be very close to that of an indefinite article.

The neuter form *τίποτε(ς)* may, however, be used in later texts as an indeclinable negative/affective indefinite modifier with nouns of any gender or number.

These elements almost always precede their head nouns when used as indefinite determiners (a role in which *κανένας* is more usual, though *κανείς* is also attested).

Κανείς/κανένας may again precede or follow the negative marker in negative sentences with the same (negative/affective) meaning in both positions.

κανείς/κανένας

- ... εἰς μαρτυρίαν κανενοῦ πραγμάτου 15th c./13th c., *Assizes B* 334.25
 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλθῃ ἀπὸ τὸν τόπον τοῦ κανεῖς ἀνθρώπος 1355, Palatia (Milos), *MANOUSAKAS* 1962b: 1, 234.12

- φόβον κανέναν ἀπὸ σὲν νὰ μὴ ἔχω νὰ με ἀφήσῃς 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 414 app. crit. (ABEX)
 πούποτε οὐκ ἠκούσθηκεν οἱ Τοῦρκοι νὰ βοηθήσουν κανεῖν ἀφέντην χριστιανόν, εἰ μὴ νὰ τὸν κομπῶνουν 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 498–9
 δὲν ἐγένην ἀφορμὴ κανενοῦ κακοῦ 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 376
κισμιάς λογῆς ἀνάπαψη δὲν ἠῦρσκεν ἡ κόρη 18th c./16th–17th c., *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.14
εἰσὲ κανέναν γκαιρόν ἄ(ν) χαθοῦσιν ἀπὸ καμιάς λογῆς ἀφορμὴν, τινὰς δὲ σοῦ ἀπηλογᾶται 1688, Naxos, *SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 761, 1033.1
 ... χωρὶς νὰ ἀπαντέξῃ καμίαν ἄλλην ἀπόκρισιν 18th c., *Don Kis.* 50.13
 τίποτε(ς)
 ἐὰν τις τῶν αὐτόθι ... λέγει τίποτες 12th c./11th c., *NIKON, Logos* 9 151.1–2
 οὐδὲν εἶχεν τίποτες ἐνδειξιν 15th c./13th c., *Assizes B* 361.19
τίποτες πόλεμος οὐδὲν ἔναι 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 30.23–4 (Konstantinopulos)
 παρὰ γὰρ νὰ ᾔβρω τίβετσι τρόπο νὰ σοῦ βουηθήσω 17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Erot.* I.114
 ἔχεις τίποτες εὐλογίαν ...; 17th c., Cyprus, *CHRISTODOULOU* 1983: A, 401.27
 ἀπομένουσι τὰ τίποτές τῆς ἀδιόρθωτα 1629, Milos, *PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS* 1990: 14, 10.7
 ἔχω τίβετις πράγμα τῆς Μαρί(ας) 1662, Sifnos, *MERTZIOS* 1958a: 1, 110.140
 ἂν ἰχρεωστοῦσαν τίποτις ροῦχα μιᾶς τῆς ἄλλης 1664, Mykonos, *TOURTOGLOU* 1980/81: 3, 20.14–15
 ἐγὼ θέλω ἔχει τὴν ἔγνωσαν νὰ σὲ στέλνω τίποτε φαγητόν 18th c., *Don Kis.* 144.22

NOTE

- (i) There are a few, relatively early, examples where *κανείς/κανένας* is used to mean simply “one” (or sometimes “a(n)”), apparently independently of whether the context is positive or negative/affective; this is perhaps a residual reflection of a still earlier state of affairs in which *κανείς/κανένας* was no more than a strengthened form of *εἷς/ένας* (replacing *τις/τινάς*) in a period before its use came to be polarized through opposition with the positive (ὀ)κάτις/(ὀ)κάποιος:

- ἃς τὸν δοκιμάσωμεν κανεῖς ἀπὸ τοὺς τρεῖς μας 15th c./12th c., *Dig. E* 1217 app. crit.
 ἀπέτις ἀπεξέβηκαν κανέναν μίλι, δύο 15th c./12th c., *Dig. E* 1411
 ἐὰν ἔνι ὅτι ἔνι εἷς ὀρφανός ἢ ὀρφανή, ἢ κανέναν παιδιν 16th c./13th c., *Assizes A* 29.26
 ἃς τοὺς ἀφήσουμε ὀλιγόν, κανέναν μῆναν πλέον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 611

Οὐδείς/οὐδένας

In preverbal positions the AG pronoun/determiner *οὐδείς* is an inherently negative quantifier (“no(one)”) used without a following negative marker; in postverbal positions, however,

it is normally used as a strong negative/affective indefinite after a negative marker, i.e. as an emphatic alternative to negative/affective τις (= "not ... ANY(one)").

Οὐδείς/οὐδένας persists into LMedG/EMG alongside κανείς/κανένας, with its role still determined by its position and the presence/absence of a negative marker. Its use is normally associated with rather higher registers, and it may be misused in more vernacular texts because of the influence of κανείς/κανένας, which requires a negative marker whatever its position in a negative sentence. Μηδείς/μηδένας is sometimes used in place of οὐδείς/οὐδένας, particularly when the verb is in the subjunctive.

Non-traditional Usage

- οὐδείς οὐκ ἐνὶ ἅπ' ἡμᾶς εἰς ὄλον τὸ φουσσᾶτον 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 7967
οὐδενεοῦ βασιλέως οὐδὲν ἐφαλτσωσάμεν 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* K 346.24-5

Standard Usage

- οὐδείς ἄνθρωπος ἔμεινεν μέσα τοῦ κάστρου 15th c./13th-14th c., *Liv.* E 2340
μηδένας τὸ λοιπὸν ἀποῦ σᾶς ... ἀφοραθῇ τοῦτον 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 389
 ... δὲν ἔχω μηδεμιὰ γαζέτα στὴν ἑξιά μου 17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.194
οὐδένα πρᾶμα ἔκαμα 17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.357
μηδὲς οὖν τῶν σοφῶν καταφρονήσῃ τῆς ἀμαθείας μου 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 29.6
 μὰ μηδένας ἄλλος καρaboκῦρης μοῦ τὸ πιστεύῃ πῶς
 1648, Corfu (author from Crete), Manousakas 1965: 268.9

NOTES

- (i) The normal position of an attributive adjective in an indefinite NP is before the head noun, but the adjective may also follow (without specifiers) if the meaning is essentially predicative and not crucial to distinguishing one class of possible referents from another; in such cases the meaning is typically focal (i.e. "an X [that is] ADJ"): πλάσματα πάλιν μυθικά καὶ λόγους γραϊδίων ἡκριβωσάμην 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 4-5
 τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, ἐγένετο σεισμός μέγας εἰς ὅλην τὴν Λευκωσίαν 1479, Cyprus, *DARROUZÈS* 1953: 6, 89.1-2
- (ii) The normal position for genitives within an indefinite NP is postnominal, but these may be preposed for contrast or emphasis in the usual way: ἔσυρνε μαζί του 4000 καβελλάρους, ... πληρωμένους δύων χρονῶν πληρωμή 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.29-30

5.3.2.3 Demonstratives

- (77) LMedG/EMG demonstratives are used both as pronouns (as heads of NPs) and as determiners (in NPs with independent head nouns) and have both deictic and anaphoric functions; as determiners they appear in definite NPs, standing either before the definite article or after the head noun.

The demonstratives of LMedG/EMG fall into two groups according to the (notional) distance from the speaker of the objects/individuals they are used to identify, namely proximal ("this") and distal ("that"); there is no clear evidence of a further division within the proximal group between 1st- and 2nd-person orientation. While both types are also used anaphorically ("the one just mentioned"), only the former is additionally employed cataphorically ("the following"):

"this"

- αὐτός, αὐτός, εὐτός, (ἐ)δαῦτος
 αὐτεῖνος, αὐτοῦνος, αὐτόνος
 οὗτος, (ἐ)τοῦτος, (ἐ)δετοῦτος
 ὅδε (mostly archaic/official, and often cataphoric in legal texts; mainly neuter)
 *ἐτοῦνος (only oxytone genitive forms found)

"that"

- ἐκεῖνος, (ἐ)δεκεῖνος (rare)
 (ἐ)κειός

The postnominal position for demonstratives is less emphatic than the pre-article position and is often, though not always, associated with anaphoric function; NP-initial demonstratives, however, are as likely to be anaphoric as deictic (with the latter probably carrying heavier stress).

NP-Initial

- ἀπ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖ αὐτὴν ἐλευθέρην καὶ οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν εἰς αὐτὴν ca. 1300, Cyprus, *MARUHN* 1981: 234.274-5
 ἀνὴρ τις ... ἀνήγειρέ τε ἐκ βάθρ(ων) αὐτ(όν) τ(όν) ναόν ἐξ οἰκει(ων) κόπ(ων) κ(αί) ἀναλωμ(ά)τ(ων) 1365, Serres, *LEFORT* 1973: 27, 162.9
 ἀπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐνθύμησιν καὶ ἐκ τὴν πολλὴν πικρίαν ἔπεσεν εἰς ἀσθένειαν, ἀπόθανεν εὐθέως 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 3172-3
 εἶχεν δὲ καὶ ὁ πρῶτος τούτην τὴν συνήθει(αν) 1501, Athos, *PAVLIKIANOV* 2006: 6, 103.23
 εἰς τὴν Καφοράχη ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους ὅπου οἱ καλογέροι τοῦ μοναστ(η)ρ(ίου) ἐπιάσαν 1572, Andros, *POLEMIS* 1995a: 8, 129.9
 πῶς εὐρέθης εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ταπεινὸν σπῖτιν ἔτουνῃς τῆς γυναικός 17th c./16th c., *MOREZINOS, Klini* 67.33

Postnominal

- οἱ νηστεῖαις ταύταις (nom. pl.) ... ἐπιτρέπονται εἰς τοὺς χριστιανούς 12th c./11th c., *NIKON, Logos* 4 214.1-3
τὸ δένδρον ἐκεῖνον 1146, Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 5, 618.30
ἐντὸς τοῦ τέρμενου ἐκεινοῦ ποῦ ἔστησε ὁ Καμπανέσης 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2118
 ἀφότου ἐσὺ ἀποδέχεσαι νὰ εἶσαι ἀβοκάτος διὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν αὐτὴν τῆς ντάμα Μαργαρίτας 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7528-9

- τάς ἀμοιβὰς τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν κόπων ἐκείνων νῦν λαμβάνετε
16th c., GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 606
- ἐδούλευσα τοὺς ἀδυνάτους καὶ τὰ κελία ἐτούτα χρόνους κε'
16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.19

NOTES

- (i) Certain other determiners also have secondary anaphoric functions, most importantly τοιοῦτος/(τ)έτοιος "such". These are often used in indefinite NPs ("such [an] X") where they stand before the head, initially in a sequence of adjectival modifiers and normally without an indefinite article in singular NPs (though one is sometimes introduced in later texts):

- τοιοῦτον κρίσιμον μέλλει νὰ κριθῇ 15th c./13th c., *Assizes B* 376.11
- τέτοιον σκοπὸν ἐχείρισεν νὰ παίξῃ τὸ καλάμιν 14th c./13th–14th c., *Log. parig.* L 216
- οὐδὲ εἶδεν το οὐδὲ ἤκουσεν τέτιον πρᾶγμα νὰ γένει 15th c., *Anon. Naupl.* 52
- οὐ θέλομεν τέτοιες μυθολογίες 16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 259
- ἐπιθυμῶντας νὰ διορθώσω τέτιον ἀπρεπὲς πρᾶγμα
1693, Corfu, TSITSAS 1978/79: [2], 209.158
- ὦ τί μεγάλο κρίμα, ἓνας τοιοῦτος βασιλεὺς νὰ ἔμπη μὲς στὸ μνημα
18th c./17th c., *Diig. Vefa* 125

- ἐγὼ κάμνει χρεῖα νὰ βάλω ὅλην μου τὴν δύναμην διὰ νὰ ἀποβάλω μίαν τοιαύτην
ὕβρην 18th c., *Don Kis.* 49.20–1

Given the functional overlap with anaphoric demonstratives, however, these items also appear in definite NPs, though they retain their adjectival position, standing between the article and noun; the definite construction is particularly common in earlier texts and with τοιοῦτος:

- ἐπέδειξαν ἡμῖν γεγραμμένον ὅτι τὸ τοιοῦτον μυλοστάσιον ἀγόρακε αὐτὸ
1123, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. X: 1, 471.13
- ὥς δὲ τὸ τίτιον μῆνυμαν ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κρατοῦντα ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.7v.1
- εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ὑπόθεσιν ἔχομεν καὶ μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας
1337/8, Constantinople, HUNGER et al. 1995: 109, 92.51–2
- ἐπεῖν τοῦ ἐφάνηκεν καλὸν εἰς τὸν ἐτέτιον τρόπον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3589
- θέλοντας γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ προειρημ(έ)ν(η) κυρὰ Ζαμπέτ(α) ποιῆσαι ἀνταμοιβὴν
τῶν τ[οι]οῦτ(ων) χαρίτων 1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 12, 48.10
- τὲς τοιοῦτες γνώμες καὶ τὰ ἦθη ὅπου εἶναι ἐπίβουλα καὶ ὅχι ἀπλὰ πρέπει νὰ τὰ
φεύγομεν ?17th c./16th–17th c., *Theophr. Char.* 120.6

- (ii) Relative pronouns such as ὁ (ὁ)ποῖος, ὅστις/ὅτις, ὅσπερ are similarly used as anaphoric pronouns/determiners linking clauses/sentences:

- νομίσματα ἑκατὸν τριακονταδύο, ὅπερ νομίσματα ... παρὰ διαφόρων προσώπων
ἐδανεισάμην 1024, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 25, 175.14

- τὲς συμφωνίες ὅπου εἶδαμεν ἐνταῦτα· στὲς ὁποῖες ἐνὶ ἡ βοῦλλα του καὶ ἐμᾶς ὁλῶν
μετ' αὐτοῦ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2380–1
- ἀνεντρανίζω καὶ θωρῶ θρονὶν τὸ πλουμισμένον, τὸ ποῖον θρονὶν καθέζεται ντοῦζες
τῆς Βενετίας 15th c., *Diig. Ven.* 41–2
- τὴν ἀδελφὴν τῆς γυναίκας του εἶχεν τὴν ἓνας παχιάς· οἱ ποῖες ἦτον Κατακουζηνές
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 132.18
- ἀφήμι τῷ εἰρημένῳ μοναστηρίῳ καὶ μελίττας σώματα <κε> ..., αἵτινες μελίττες
εἰσιν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ κύρ Κωνσταντίου μοναχοῦ
1512, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 34, 59.13–14
- Βιβλίον τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ δικαίου Λαζάρου· ὁ ὁποῖος Λάζαρος ἔκαμε τέσσαρες ἡμέρες
εἰς τὸν Ἄδην 1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 11, 19.1
- γὰρ τὸ ὁποῖο στᾶρι τὸ ἄνωθεν ὀπλεγάρουνται οἱ ἄνωθεν ἀξαδέλφοι καὶ ἀπομένου
ἐγγυητάδες ἓνας τοῦ ἄλλου τῶνε
1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 64, 84.14–15
- ἐδιάβη καταπάνω τοῦ Καραλούκη καὶ ἐπῆρε του τὴν ἀφεντία τῆς Σουμάκιας ὁ
ὁποῖος Καραλούκης εἶχε φουσᾶτο 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.36–31.1

5.3.3 Relative Clauses

- (78) A relative clause may be used as a restrictive modifier of any NP in order to help identify a particular referent (when the head is singular) or particular subset of referents (when the head is plural).

A restrictive relative clause delimits the potential referent(s) of a NP, cf. *the woman that fell* (as opposed to all those who did not), *the students who worked hard* (as opposed to all those who did not), etc.

In LMedG/EMG a restrictive relative clause may be introduced by the relative pronoun ὅς (more formal/literary) or by the definite article (more vernacular), both of which provide an anaphoric link to the antecedent NP. More frequently, the clause is structurally linked to its antecedent by the complementizer ὅπου/ὁπού/πού (often ἀπού in Crete and Cyprus), an element that doubtless came to be interpreted as fulfilling a similar anaphoric role.

The pronouns (ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος, ὅστις/ὅτις and ὅσπερ are employed comparatively rarely in restrictive relatives, mostly in archaizing/literary and official/legal registers. Neuter ὅ,τι, however, is a strong survivor in vernacular LMedG/EMG in its original sense of "whatever" (see below on headless relatives), while neuter ὅπερ and ἄπερ, reanalysed as indeclinable complementizers on the model of ὅπου/ὁπού/πού, appear frequently with antecedents of any number and gender (sometimes in combination with the definite article in formal/legal texts, especially in early documents from S. Italy; this usually agrees in case with the antecedent, see immediately below).

It is comparatively rare for any of these items to carry grammatical functions within a restrictive relative clause other than subject and direct object; as object of a preposition, or when cases other than the nominative and accusative are required, (ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος is used most often.

The article and the various relative pronouns are fully declinable, agreeing with their head nouns in number and gender, and in principle taking the case associated with their grammatical function within the relative clause (mostly nominative/subject and accusative/direct object). But a relative clause introduced by the definite article is an appositional constituent (i.e. of the form *the thing + the (thing) someone did*) in which the article replicates the case of the antecedent regardless of its grammatical function within the relative clause; to eliminate any potential difficulties, this construction is normally limited to situations in which both antecedent and article would be assigned the same case within their own clauses, making the case agreement required by their appositional relationship unproblematical. The relative pronouns *ὅς* and *ὅσπερ*, however, also regularly agree with ("are attracted to") their antecedents in case, if the case requirements of the main clause and the relative clause differ; by contrast, *(ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος* shows almost no evidence of attraction and *ὅστις/ὅτις* very little. Case-agreeing relative pronouns are italicized in the excerpts below.

ὅς (mainly early and literary; case attraction to antecedent when there is conflict)

ἐξόρισαν τούς βελλάνους ἀπὸ τοῦ Φωκαίου οὓς ἐκατοίκουν εἰς τὴν χώραν
?1130–40, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 534.18

ἡλευθέρωνεν ἅπαντας οὓς εἶχεν αἰχμαλώτους 13th–14th c./12th c., Dig. G II.5

οὐκέτι τούτων ἐνεκεν δάκνεται τὴν καρδίαν, πάντων ἐπιλαθόμενος ὧν εἶχεν ἐν τῷ
βίῳ 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 107–8

σκότος δὲ πάλιν ἀφεγγές τὸν σκοτασμόν μου κρίνω ὃν ἔχω τότε, βασιλεῦ, ὅταν
ψωμὶν οὐκ ἔχω 14th c./12th c., Ptoch. III 234

ἀφήκαμεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν πῦραμεν ἐκεῖσε 15th c./13th–14th c., Liv. V 2842

πῶς παραβλέπει τὸν κριτὴν, τὴν φοβερὰν ἡμέραν ἣν μέλλει γὰρ παρίστασθαι τρόμῳ
πολλῷ καὶ φόβῳ 15th–16th c./15th c., Alfav. 14 69

ἔστειλά σοι καὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἣν μοι ἐπαρέδωκεν ὁ τῆς Γένουβας φίλος μου
1487, Chios, LEFORT 1981: 12, 71.2–3

τὰ πράγματα ἃ μοι ἐπῆρεν κουρφὰ ἡ Παντοσυλία
1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 1, 3.10

εἶπε ἡμῖν παραβολὰς ἃς οὔτε ἠκούσαμεν οὔτε ἠξεύρομεν 17th c., Vios Aisop. D 240.17

Definite Article (vernacular; almost always direct object)

τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν σὲ ἐπεμψα με τὸν Θεόδωρον 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.15

εἰ μὲν τὸν θέλεις κακοποιῆσαι διὰ τὰ σφάλματα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παρακοὴν τὴν ποιεῖ
πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν σου βασιλείαν ?1130–40, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 535.9–11

οὐκ ἐγνωρίζεις, δέσποτα, τὸν Πρόδρομον τὸν ἔχεις 15th c./12th c., Ptoch. (Maiuri) 42

ἐχαρίσαμε τοῦ Γεωργίου ... τὸ κοπέλι τὸ ἔχει εἰς τὴν δουλεψή του ἀπὸ τὸ <ν> χωρίο
μας τῆς Θεμούρφου 1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 72, 36.1–3

ἐπρουμότησεν τοῦ μεγάλου μαστόρου νὰ κρατήσῃ κρυφὰ πᾶσα πρᾶμαν τὸ νὰ
τοῦ ποίσοιεν 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 12.5–7

τὸν Δημήτρην ... τὸν δουλευτὴν μας ποίσετε τὸ καλλίτερον τὸ νὰ μὴ μὴσῃτε ...,
καὶ πᾶσα χρῆσιν τὴν ἔχει με(ν) τοῦ τὸ κρατήσῃς

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 412.11–14

τὸ κελίον ... με τὴν περιοχὴν του ἡγουν με τὰς ἐλαίας καὶ με τὸ νερόν τὸ ἦφερεν
ἐκεῖνος ὁ Δανιὴλ ὁ Βούλγαρης 1501, Athos, PAVLIKIANOS 2006: VII, 105.2–3

ἀπὸ ἐκεῖ μίλια γ' εὐρίσκεῖς τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ λέγουν Ἀρπην
1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 53.20

ὁπου/ὁπού/πού (standard vernacular option)

ἂν με ἔποισαν τεχνίτην, ἀπ' αὐτοὺς ὁπού κάμνουσιν τὰ κλαπωτὰ καὶ ζῶσιν, νὰ
ἔμαθα τέχνην κλαπωτὴν καὶ νὰ ἔξουν ἀπ' ἐκείνην 14th c./12th c., Ptoch. III 89–91

θωρεῖς αὐτὸν τὸν ἄγουρον ποῦ στέκει εἰς τὸ λιθάριν 15th c./12th c., Dig. E 1507

εἶπε τον διὰ τίποτε λογάριν ὁπου νὰ χρήζη, μετ' αὐτὸ φουσσᾶτα νὰ ρογέψη
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 4563–4

παρακαλῶ κι ὀρίζω σε ... τὸν τόπον ὁπου ἐκέρδισα ἐδῶ εἰς τὸν Μορέαν νὰ
παραλάβης καὶ κρατῆς, διὰ ἐμὲν νὰ τὸν φυλάττης 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 1874–6

τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐκατὸν δουκάτα τὸν μῆνα ... νὰ ἐξοδιάζωνται εἰς τινας ἄρχοντας καὶ
καλὰ πρόσωπα ὁπού νὰ εἶναι κοντὰ των 1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 285.6–9

τ' ἀμπέλιν ποῦ ἐγόρασα (1528, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 113, 224.40)

ἦλθαν καὶ οἱ βοσκοὶ ὁπού ἔβοσκαν τὰ πρόβατα ἐκεῖ τὸ γύρο καὶ λέγουν ὅτι ἡμεῖς
εἶδαμεν πληθος ἀγγέλων ὁπού εὐχαριστοῦσαν τὸν Θεόν
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 331.28–31

ἔγραφα τῆς πανιερότη σου ... τὰ βάσανα ὁπού ἦρθε καὶ ἔκαμὲν τση ὁ καλὸς
καλόγερος 1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 3, 169.6–7

αὐτὸ σὲ τὸ εἶπα ... ἀπὸ τὴν πρώτην βαλανιδιὰν ὁπού νὰ εὔρω, νὰ κόψω καὶ ἐγὼ
ἓνα μεγάλο κλαδί 18th c., Don Kis. 46.36–47.1–2

ἀπού (in texts from Crete/Cyprus)

ἔλα εἰς αὐτόν μου, κ' ἐγὼ νὰ σοῦ δώσω θησαυρόν ἀπού νὰ μὲν σὲ λείψη
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 62.33–4

με καιρὸν φτάνει εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐκείνη ἀπού ἦτονε ὁ ἄρχων ἀπού τὴν πῦρεν εἰς τὴν
ἐρημίαν ... καὶ, ὁδὶα τὸ κρίμα ἀπού ἦκαμεν, τοῦ ἡδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς μίαν λέπραν
17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 56.18–21

μιὰ ψυχὴ ἀπού εὐρίσκεται τοῦ πόθου ἀρρωστημένη, σφαίνει τσί πλιότερες φορὲς
καὶ μένει κομπωμένη 17th c., TROILOS, *Rodol.* IV.163–4

(ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος (restrictive use limited, mainly formal/legal; no case attraction)

ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν ποσότην ἢ ποῖα ὑπάρχει ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ κράτει
1257, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 33, 457.17

ἐκεῖνος ἢ ἐκείνη τοῦ ποιοῦ ἐνὶ ἐγγυητῆς 16th c./13th c., Assizes A 70.10

ἔξω ἀπὸ τὰ ἰδ' μιζούρια τὸ κριθάριν τὰ ποῖα τοῦ θέλει ὁ Μαυρομάτης
1327, Crete, ΛΑΙΟΥ 1982: 1, 123.6

- τὰ πράγμ(ατα) ὁποῖ(α) θέλομεν π(α)ραλάβει
1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A], 19.14
- εἰβάσταινε σκουτάρι στὸ ὁποῖον τὰ βασίλεια τοῦ Νερέου ἐφαινότον
15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* VI.48,2 (Olsen)
- τὴν ὑποταγὴν παιδικὴν εἰς τὴν ποῖαν ἕως τῶρα ἔμεν ὑποτάσσεσθε
1446, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 17, 98.4
- φλωρία χρυσᾶ ὁποῖα ἔδωσα 1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 57, 177.8–9
- περὶ τινὰ κάστρη καὶ τόπους τὰ ὁποῖα ἐπῆρε ὁ σκλάβος μου
1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 9, 313.8
- περὶ τὸν σκλάβον σου ... τὸν ποῖον ἤκουσεν ἡ αυθεντία σου
1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 10, 65.3
- εἶπασιν Μαστόρου πρᾶμαν τὸ ποῖον δὲν τοῦ ἄρρεσεν 16th c., ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 2133
- ὑπέρπυρα ἐξήντα τὰ ὁπγιά εἶναι ρέστος 1623, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 47, 126.6

NOTE

- (i) In some cases where the article is absent the ancient meaning “such as” may be intended:

διαφυλασσόντων τὰς πατρικὰς ἡμῶν ... παραδόσεις ὁποῖας παρελάβομεν παρὰ
τε τῶν οἰκουμενικῶν ἐπτὰ ἀγίων συνόδων
13th c., Constantinople, DARROUZÈS/LAURENT 1976: 1, 191.4–5, 13 C

δοσις/δοτις (rare in restrictive use, mainly formal/legal; little case attraction)

ἐνάντιον τοῦ σιγίλλιου τῆς ἐλευθέρας χρυσοβούλλης οὕτινος ἐποιήσεν αὐτοῖς ὁ
μακαριώτατος κόμης Ῥογέριος 1171, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 21, 422.14

πᾶς δοσις ἐτύγγανεν εἰς τὴν χαρὰν ἐκείνην 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig. G* IV.836

τὰς παρούσας γραφὰς αἵτινες ἀνάγονται εἰς τὴν ἀντιληψὶν σου
1487, Chios, LEFORT 1981: 12, 71.3–4

περὶ τῶν βελανιδίων ἅτινα ὑπῆρχον ἀγορασμένα με σολδία τοῦ εἰρημένου
Σβηροῦ 1606, Nauplion, BROUSKARI 1982: 1, 174.16

δοπερ (formal/legal and literary; case attraction to antecedent when there is conflict)

τῶν δυσχερῶν ἀπάλλαξον σοφῶν μηχανημάτων ὧνπερ κατεῖπον ἄνωθεν
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. IV* 661–2

εἰς τὸ τῆς Καλαμαρίας θέμα περὶ τὴν τοποθεσίαν ἥπερ οὕτω πως τοῦ
Διαβολοκάμπου ἐπονομάζεται 1324, Thessaloniki, LEFORT et al. 1994: 80, 284.3

διὰ νὰ ἀπανταῖνῃ τοὺς πολλοὺς κόλπους οὕσπερ ἐκροῦαν
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 10306

τὸν τόπον ὧνπερ εἶχασιν συνήθως τὸ νὰ βλέπουν
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1239

ἐπανέστρεψα εἰς τὴν Πάτραν ... ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπερβάλλοντος τῆς θαλάσσης κακοῦ
οὕπερ καθ' ὁδὸν ἡμᾶς συνήντησεν 16th c./15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 146.15

- περὶ τὴν ὑπόθ(ε)σιν τ(οῦ) ὁσπιτ(ίου) οὕπερ ἔχει διαφορ(άν) με τ(ὸν) κυρ
Δημήτρ(ιον) 1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 11, 47.7
- τῆς ἀγάπης ἥσπερ διὰ τὴν τῶν εὐσεβῶν εὐφροσύνην καὶ παραμυθίαν ... ἐπόνησα
17th c., IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali Prol.* 53

δοπερ/ἀπερ without Article (vernacular, gender-indifferent)

προστάσω ... ἵνα μὴ ἔχῃς ἐξουσίαν εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην μονὴν ..., μηδὲ εἰς τὰ
μετόχια αὐτῆς ἀπερ διεκρατήσα 1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 210.38–40

ἡμέτερον ἐρημοάμπελον ἀπερ ἔχομεν 1201, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 253, 344.15

τί ἐνι τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας δοπερ λέγεις;
1337/8, Constantinople, HUNGER et al. 1995: 109, 92.57–8

εὐχαριστᾷ τον διὰ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ ἔπαινος ἀπερ τοῦ ἐμαρτύρα
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1888–9

ἐνταῦτα ἡῦρασιν ἐκεῖ ἐγγράφως τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὅπερ γράφει λεπτομερῶς, ... τὸ
πῶς ὁ λίζιος ἄνθρωπος χρεωστεῖ ποιῆσαι τοῦτο 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7569–71

οὐδὲ τὴν τολμηρὴν καρδίαν, τὴν τόλμην δοπερ εἶχεν
15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* VI.31,5 (Olsen)

τὰ σεντούκια, ὅπερ με ἀπέστειλες 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* E 155.21 (Lolos)

εἶδα τὰς γραφὰς ἀπερ ἔστειλες τοῦ κύρ Μανόλη Μυτιληναίου
1567, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 5, 305.3

δοπερ/ἀπερ with Article (rare, mainly early S. Italian; legal/formal)

τὴν ἀλλαγὴν τὴν ἀπερ ἔχω με τὸν καθ(η)γούμε(ενον) κύ(ρ) Κλήμ(εντα)
1060–1, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 4, 58.18

ἀπασαν τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπόστ(ασιν) τὴν ἀπερ κτῶμ(αι) εἰς χωρίον Κουρτζάνου
1155, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 25, 148.5

τὴν φυτὶ(αν) τὴν ἀπερ ἔχω εἰς ἐνφύτευσιν ἐκ τὸν Νικηφόρον Τητάν(η)
1197–8, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 42, 217.13

ἐπούλησα τὸ χωράφι τὸ ὅπερ εἶχα 1552, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 179.3

τὴν διαφορὰν τὴν ὅπερ ἔχουν 1569, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 1999: 28, 394.5

NOTES

- (i) In relative clauses containing a verb form marked with νὰ (often equivalent to English infinitival relatives of the type *someone to do something*), it is common for the relative marker to be omitted; νὰ always then stands initially:
- ἀφότου ὀρέγεται (ὁ πρίγκιπας) νὰ ποιήσουσιν ἀγάπην νὰ ἐνι στερέα κι
ἀδόλιευτος 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8695–6
- δὲν εἶναι τῶρα κανέναν νὰ κατοικῇ οὔτε εἰς τὴν Βασιλείαν τῶν Οὐρανῶν οὔτε εἰς
τὴν Κόλασιν 16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 111.2–3
- γιατί ... δὲ βρίσκεται θεριὸ μηδεκιανένα νὰ μηδὲν κλάψῃ ἀπὸ καρδιᾶς περὶσσα
λυπημένα 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.63–4

ἀκομή τὰ χωράφια τῇ Μονολέας νὰ πᾶσι ὡς τὸ Μόλο, μουζούρια ι'
1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 779, 677.37

- (ii) When the antecedent NP contains an overt universal quantifier (= "all", "every" etc.), *ὅσος* "as much/many as" may be substituted as the relative pronoun; *ὅσος* naturally imparts a quantified meaning to the antecedent even in the absence of a universal quantifier ("the X as much as ..." = "all (of) the X that ..."):

πάντα ὅσα ἔδωκεν ὁ ἀγοραστής νὰ τὰ χάση 15th c./13th c., *Assizes B* 292.2

νὰ τοὺς ἔχης πληρώσει τὴν ρόγαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ὅσην χρεωστῇ νὰ ἔχουν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5165-6

οἱ ἄρχοντες ὅσοι ἔχουσιν τιμάρια 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.24

ἄλιμονον, Ροδίτες μου, καλὰ παλικάρακια, καὶ ξένοι ὅσοι ἔχάθητε, Ρωμαῖοι καὶ
Φραγκάκια 16th c./15th c., LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 38-9

ἔδωσε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄλον τὸν τόπ(ον) τὸν ἄδειον ὅσος ἡβρίσκει(αι) ἔσωθεν τῶν
ἀμπελ(ίων) 1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 48, 39.4

- (iii) The relative *ὅποιος* "whoever", normally used in headless relatives (see Rule (80)), is sometimes used in the same way as *ὅσος*:

χαρά ᾗ τσι ὅποιοι δάκρυα χύσου γιά τὴ Μαρία
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 3966

- (iv) Relative elements such as *ὅσος* "(as much) as" and *οἷος* "(of such a kind) as" are used with demonstrative partners to make "correlative" comparisons of the type "so much ... as ...", "of such a kind ... as ..."; in the former case, the elements are often reversed ("as much as/to the extent that X ..., this much/to that extent Y"):

τόσος/ὅσος

ὅσον εἶναι πλείονες καὶ ἐλαφρότεροι, ... τόσον θέλει εἶσθαι κάλλιον
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.1-3

ὅσον ἔναι ψηλότερος, τόσον τὸν τάσσει ὀλίγα 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 82

τέτοιος/οἷος

χαρὰν ποτέ, ἀγάπην ἢ φιλίαν, με ἄνθρωπον οὐ μὴ ἀποκτήσω <ἐγὼ> τέτοιαν οἷαν
μετ' ἐσένα 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 4266

οὕτως τὸν εὐρήκασι τίτοιον οἷον ἠθέλαν 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 2697

- (79) A relative clause may be used as a non-restrictive (appositive) modifier to add relevant information that is not specifically intended to help the hearer/reader identify the referent.

Such relative clauses are normally demarcated by a pause (reflected in writing by the use of a comma) and contain one of the relative markers also used in restrictive relative clauses (see Rule (78)); they may be used to modify NPs or complete sentences, in which case we may understand a vague antecedent, as in *the students, who (by the way) had*

worked hard, left early; she passed first time, (something) which gave her family great pleasure.

The most common relative markers/pronouns in non-restrictive relative clauses are *ὅπου/πού* (regular) and *(ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος* (more formal/literary), though all options are in principle available, including the absence of any overt relativizing element in clauses containing verb forms marked with *νὰ*; *(ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος* is the regular choice as object of a preposition, or when cases other than nominative and accusative are required.

Non-restrictive relative clauses introduced by *ὅπου/πού* and other indeclinable elements may include a resumptive object clitic pronoun in the relativized position, referring back to the antecedent and agreeing with it in number and gender (of the form *the man, that I saw him, ...*); this is regular when the relative clause modifies a sentence. This option also occurs, albeit more rarely, with *(ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος*, mainly in later texts.

Modifying a NP

πουλῶντα τὸ ἡμέτερον ἀμπέλιον, τὸ ὄντα καὶ διακείμενον εἰς χωρίον Καλαβρόν, τὸ
ἄπερ ἔχομεν ἐκ τὸν ἐμὸν πεθερόν 1179, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 193, 254.7-10

ὡς εἶδασιν παράνομα, τὰ ποῖα οὐδὲν ἐλπίζαν, εἰς θλίψιν ἐσεβήκασιν καὶ κάθονται
καὶ κλαίου 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 88-9

ἐγὼ εἶμαι ὁ Χρόνος, ἀδελφέ, τὸν ὑποτάσσει ἡ Τύχη
14th c./13th-14th c., *Log. parig.* L 106

συναπαντῶ πραγματευτὴν ... ἄλογα νὰ ἔχη περισσὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους μετ' ἐκείνον
καὶ γράϊαν γυναῖκα, ... νὰ κάθεται εἰς καμήλιν 15th c./13th-14th c., *Liv.* V 2314-16

στὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον καὶ καιρόν, ὅπου σέ ἀφηγήθην ἐδῶ ... ὅταν ὁ δοῦκας Ἀθηνῶν ...
εὗρεν ὅτι ὁ πρίγκιπας ἐκεῖνος ὁ Γυλιάμος ἐπιάστη ... καὶ ἦτον εἰς τὴν Πόλιν, ἄπερ
τὸν ἐκράτει ὁ βασιλέας εἰς φυλακὴν του 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7964-9

ἔποικαν ἀμφοτέροι τὸ ἀντρώγυνον ἐκεῖνο υἱόν, ... ὅστις γὰρ μετὰ τὴν θανάην ἐκεῖνου
τοῦ πατρός του ἔζησεν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7974-7

ἀπεράσαμεν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ὅπου ὁ Τοῦρκος ἀκόμα δὲν τὴν εἶχε
19th c./15th-16th c., *Chron. Theod.* 20.4-5

ἐπαρακάλεσέ μας νὰ κάμωμεν τὴν παροῦσαν αὐτῆς διαθήκην καὶ τελευταίαν
παραγγελίαν, με τὴν ὅποιαν κόφτει καὶ ἀφανίζει κάθε ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλες πού ἔχει
παρέμπροσθεν ταύτης γινωμένες 1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.9

εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρόν ἦσαν δυο δένδρα, ὅπου τὰ λέγουν ἐμπρίονοι εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν
γλώσσαν 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.19-20

ἐγὼ, π' ἀκόμη τίβοτας δὲν εἶχα φαγωμένα, ἀγάλι ἀγάλι ἐσάλευγα με χεῖλη πρικαμένα
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.67-8

ἐδιάβη καταπάνω τοῦ Ἀλεξάντρου ἀφεντὸς τῆς Ἀρμενίας, χριστιανόν, τὸν ὅποιον
τὸν ἐλέγασιν καὶ Σκεντέρη 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.22-4

ἐξηλθε διὰ νὰ κυνηγήσῃ με τοὺς συνηθισμένους του καβαλάρους, ἀπὸ τοὺς ὁποίους
ἦτον ἕνας καὶ ἐτοῦτος ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνδρας 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 39.29-31

τῇ γραφῇ τῆς ἐκλαμπρότητός σου ἐλάβαμε ..., τὴν ὁποία ἐδιαβάσαμε τῆνε, ὡς
ἔπρεπε, τοῦ δεσπότη καὶ ὁλονοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ 1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.5

Modifying a Sentence

ἡ νύκτα ἐκαλοφόρεσεν, τὸ δὲν ἐποῖκεν [ἡ] ἄλλη 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 342

ἐξαίφνης ἐδιάβη, ὅπου δὲν τὸ ὠλπίζανε 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.2

οἱ σαῖττες καὶ τὰ τόξα τοῦ θανάτου εἶν' πολλὰ καὶ καιρὸν δὲν διορίζουν, ποῦ τὸ
ξεύρομεν καλὰ 17th c., *Charon* II 13–14

- (80) "Headless" relative clauses, i.e. those lacking an overt antecedent, normally have a generic/universal meaning ("whoever/whatever" or "any/every X that"); they are introduced by *ὅπου/ὅπου/πού* or by relative pronouns/specifiers with an inherently generic/universal sense, namely *ὅσος* (cf. Rule (78) NOTE (ii)) and *ὅποιος/ὅ,τι*.

By contrast, forms of the definite article are regularly used with a *specific* meaning in headless relatives = "the (specific) X that".

In the absence of an antecedent NP the relative marker combines the functions of both antecedent (in the main clause) and relativizer (in the relative clause), leading potentially to conflicting case assignments for inflected forms; when this occurs, the case requirements of the relative clause typically predominate (examples are italicized below, though nominative/accusative clashes involving neuters are, of course, "invisible").

Some relative elements used in headless relatives can also be used as specifiers, as in [*whichever book he read*] *was soon forgotten*. NPs with relative specifiers similarly fulfil two grammatical functions, and the requirements of the relative clause again predominate in the event of case conflict.

Article (definite/specific)

τοῦτο ψευδὲς ἐνόμιζον ..., τὸ λέγουσιν οἱ χωρικοὶ καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ δημῶδης
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 18–19

λέγω τὰ οὐκ ἐνδέχονται καὶ τὰ με οὐδὲν ἀρμόζουν; 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 294

οὐ θέλουσιν ὑπόδησιν τοὺς ἔχω μετ' ἐμέναν; 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* II 32

τὴν ἡθελες καὶ ὠρέγου νὰ κερδήσης, ... νὰ τὴν ἰδῆς μετὰ θ(ε)ν εἰς ὀλίγας ἡμέρας
?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.1v.7–14

τὴν ἐκρατοῦμεν ἄγαμον εὐρέθη ἐγγαστρωμένη 13th–14th c./?, *Paroim.* D 119

περὶ νὰ ὑπάμε εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, τὰ οὐκ ἔχομεν γυρεύει, ἐνταῦτα στρέμμα ἄς
ποιήσωμεν ἀπέσω εἰς τὴν Πόλιν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 837–8

τί ἔναι, σκύλε, τὰ λαλεῖς, τί ἐν τὸ τζαμπουνίζεις;
15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 199 app. crit. (CLA)

γυνὴ τις γραῦς ὑπόσχεται νὰ δώσῃ ... καὶ κουφισμὸν εἰς τὸ πονεῖς καὶ λύσιν εἰς τὸ
πάσχεις 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1108–9

τὸν ἀγαπᾷς εὐρέθηκεν, ἀνέστη τὸν ἐξεύρεις
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1686

τὸν κόσμον νὰ λυτρώνουμουν παρὰ τὰ βλέπω τώρα 16th c./14th c., *Byz. II.* 262

ἄμποτε τὸ μᾶς ἔταξαν νὰ τὸ φυλάξωσι τελείως 1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 285.20

τὰ ῥίξεις προσκυνῶ καὶ θέλω νὰ τὰ ποίσω 16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Thrinios* 119

ἀπὸ τὸ μου λαλεῖτε, πὼς ἐπήγα εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τῆς ἀφεντίας τῆς
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 60, 62.18

τὸ ζητᾷ γιὰ γιαιτρικόν, ἐκεῖνο τότε βλάφτει 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.6

ὅπου/ὅπου

ὅπου θέλει νὰ ἔλθῃ ἄς ἔλθῃ μετὰ μέναν 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 554

ἡῦρασιν ὅτι εἶχαν πλέον κερδίσει παρὰ ὅπου εἶχαν στὰ κάτεργα
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 650–1

μὰ νὰ ἴναι ἀσυγχώρετος ὅπου θε σὲ πατάξει 15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 206

ὅπου ἔχει πολὺν πιπέρι βάνει καὶ ὅς τὰ λάχανα 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 32

καλότυχος ποῦ μεριμνᾷ πάντα τὸν θάνατόν του
17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1345

ὅπου θυμᾶται θάνατον, ἐκεῖνος κυριεύει 17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1349

ὅσος (used as both pronoun and specifier)

ἀπὸ ὅσοι ἐναπέμειναν ἀπ' αὐτοὺς, ... ἀεννάως τοὺς ἔπαιρνε μετ' αὐτόν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7209–11

ὀρκῶ σε κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ..., ἐσὲν κι ὅσοι καθέζονται μετὰ σὲ ἐδῶ εἰς τὴν κούρτην
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7543–4

ὥσπερ ἔναι ἡ συνήθεια νὰ πιάσει τὴν λεχώναν καὶ νὰ κάμει ὅσα εἶναι τῆς φύσεως
τῶν γυναικῶν 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.34–5

τὸν ποιητὴν πάσης κτίσεως καὶ ἐλευθερωτὴν τῶν ψυχῶν πάντων τῶν ὀρθοδόξων
χριστιανῶν καὶ ὅσοι πιστεύσουν εἰς αὐτόν
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 331.14–15

γί' αὐτὸς λολοῖ ἴναι ὅσοι θαρροῦ ... νὰ κάμουν τὴ χέρα μου νὰ μὴ μπορᾷ
τελειώσει 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Erof. Prol.* 34

ὅσοι Ρωμιότουρκοι ἐγροίκεσαν τὸν ἀβγαμό μου παρευθὺς ἔτρεξαν σιμά μου
1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 2, 27.13

ὅσα παιδιά ἴναι διαλεκτὰ εἰς μιὰ μεριά ὅς τὰ βάνη 17th c., KONDAR., *Paidēs* 171

ὅποιος/ὅ,τι (used as both pronoun and specifier)

ἀπὸ τοὺς μῆνας δώδεκα νὰ ἐπαίρῃ ὅποιους θέλει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2004

ὅ,τι ἡῦραν πράγματα ἐκεῖ ἐδιαγοῦμισάν τα 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1306

ὅποια ἀπ' ἐσᾶς βάλη ἀρχὴν νὰ με δείρῃ ἔναι ἡ μεγαλύτερη πολιτικὴ καὶ πουτάννα
τοῦ κόσμου 15th–16th c./?15th c., *Vios Aisop.* E 292.34

ὅποιαν βλέπῃ νὰ δειλιᾷ δίδει παρηγορία 15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* I.90.8 (Follieri)

ὅποιον σου δείξω σκότωσε 16th c./15th c., PIKAT., *Rima thrin.* 383

ὅποιος αὐτὰ ὀρέγεται δουλώνεται καθόλου 16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 111

ὅποια εὐρεθῇ, νὰ τὴν ξορίζουν ἔξω τῆς χώρας! 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 178.6
 εἰς ὦραν ὑπανδρείας αὐτῆς ὅ,τι τῶς φανῇ νὰ τῆς δώσουν διὰ προικίον νὰ τῆς
 δίδουν ἀπ' αὐτὰ, καὶ ὅ,τι τῶν φανῇ νὰ πουλήσουν νὰ τὰ κάνουν στάμενα
 1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 120, 217.26

κάμε ὅ,τι θές 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Katz. III.267
 ἀκόμη ἀφήνει τῆς Καντιῶς ὅ,τι μερτικὸ τοῦ ἐγγίλει στὸ χωράφι τῆς Κουκουβάγιας
 1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 9, 311.22

εἰς ὅποιον τόπον ἐσεῖς θέλετε ὑπάγει, εὐρίσκει σας 17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 11–12
ὅποιος ἀγαπᾷ ἐμένα ζῶντ(ας) μου, ἔνα τους παρακαλῶ ν' ἀγαποῦσι τὴν μάνα μου
 καὶ τὰ παιδιὰ μου δέκα 1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.144–5
 νὰ εἶναι διαλέγονας ὁ Μανώλης νὰ παίρνη ὅποια πάρτην θέλει
 1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 257, 449.23

6 Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases

6.1 Simple Prepositional Phrases

(81) LMedG/EMG prepositions normally govern an accusative NP to form a Prepositional Phrase (PP); clitic (personal) pronouns are sometimes permitted in the earliest texts (e.g. ἀνταπεκρίνατο πρὸς με ὁ ὑποψήφιος (?1144, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 313.4)), but full forms are normally preferred thereafter (e.g. οὐδὲν εὐρίσκω εἰς ἑμὲν *Chron. Mor.* H 948).

The array of prepositions that appear routinely in LMedG/EMG (ἀπό, διὰ/γιά, εἰς/σέ, μέ, παρὰ = "(rather/other) than", πρὸς) is significantly smaller than that of AG. But other prepositions are found in older texts and archaizing, legal or official registers, as well as in many formulaic phrases, many of which have ecclesiastical origins (e.g. ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ, etc.); in these cases prepositions that in AG governed the genitive or dative often continue to do so, though substitution of the accusative is also possible.

6.1.1 Frequently Occurring Prepositions + Accusative

ἀπό

For the use of ἀπό in partitive constructions (e.g. ἕνας ἀπὸ ἐκείνους ... ἀνέβηκε 18th c., ΕΦΘΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 18.19–22), see 5.2.2, Rule (73) NOTE (ii). Other principal uses are: "from" (spatial/metaphorical), "via/through", "than", "by/with" (agent/instrument), "after".

ἀν μισεύσειν βούλεσαι <u>ἀπὸ τὴν Ρωμανίαν</u>	15th c./12th c., <i>Dig.</i> E 344
τὸ πέραμα νὰ ποιήσουσιν <u>ἀπὸ τὴν Βενετίαν</u>	14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H. 310
σκάνταλον μέγα ἐγένετον <u>ἀπὸ τοὺς Βενετικούς</u>	14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H. 408
ὥσάν ἐπιάστη πρότερον <u>ἀπὸ τοὺς Βενετικούς</u>	14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H. 865
περιεπάτει, ἐχαίρετον <u>ἀπὸ ὅλον τὸ πριγκιπᾶτο</u>	14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H. 3041
σκοπᾶτε τὰ τέλη τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ <u>ἀπὸ τὸ τέλος</u> τὴν ἀρχὴν	16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, <i>Chron.</i> V 10.13–14

γιατὶ καλλιὰ δὲν εἶν' ὁ γεῖς τίβοτσι ἀποὺ τὸν ἄλλο 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Erof.* II.22

ἀπ' εὐτυχιᾶς πληθαίνει (ὁ τόπος) 17th–18th c./17th c., *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 71
 ἐκεῖνοι οἱ πανάπιστοι ... ὀργισθήκασιν περὶσσα καὶ ἀφρίζασιν ἀπὸ λύσσης ἐκδίκησης
 18th c., ΕΦΘΥΜ., *Chron. Gal.* 16.22–4

διά/γιά

“for/on behalf of”, “for (the purpose of)/as”

ὑπαγαίνασιν ἐκεῖ κ' ἑκατοικοῦσαν, οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸ προσκύνημα καὶ ἄλλοι διὰ τὴν δόξαν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 120–1

ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Χριστὸς διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τὸ γένος 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 305

ἔπαρ' ἐκ τὰ φαρία μας νὰ ἔχῃς γιά τιμὴ σου 16th c., *Imb. Rim.* 237

πολλοὺς ἐπίασεν ζωντανούς καὶ ἤθελε νὰν τοὺς ἐξηβάλῃ εἰς τὸν κόσμον διὰ θαῦμα
16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 24.6–7 (Konstantinopolus)

κατέχεις ... τὸ πῶς σ' ἐκράτου πάντα μου ὡς γιά δασκάλισσά μου
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATIS, Katz.* II.355–6

ἐκλελεμένος ... διὰ ἀσιστέντες 1687, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2005a: 1, 368.2

δὲν ἐκράτηξε (πουρκί) καὶ διὰ τὰ ἄλλα τῆς παιδία τὰ δύο ... * ... τὴν ἐπῆρε διὰ
γυναῖκαν του 1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.7–11

εἰς/σέ

“at/to, on/onto, in/into” (spatial/metaphorical), “for (the purpose of)”, “because of”

ἐζήτησαν ὁ λαὸς χωράφια εἰς τὸ σπέρνειν καὶ ζῆν
?1130–40, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 533.12

δέδωκέν μοι ἐν οἴκημα εἰς θεώρετρον ἐν τῇ πόλει Μεσσήνη
1171, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VII: 4, 363.9

μόνον προθύμως ἐξελθε εἰς τοῦ ἀμιρᾶ τὴν τόλμην 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 7

ᾧραν πολλὴν ἐποίησιν καὶ εἰς λογισμούς ἐμπῆκαν 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 75

ἀπὲ τοῦ νῦν οὐ πρέπει μας νὰ εἴμεσθην εἰς τὸν κόσμον 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 95

στὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον καὶ καιρόν, ὅπου σέ ἀφηγήθην ἐδῶ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7964

καὶ τ' ἄλλα πάντα θαυμαστούς, γενναίους εἰς ἀνδρείαν
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 30

ἠπῆρεν τοὺς, ἐπέβηκεν ᾗς τὸ κάτεργον ἀτῆ τῆς ἐδιέβηκε εἰς τὴν Φράγκιαν τοῦ ρήγαν
Ἰταλίας

15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 19–20

ἄρχισεν ἐξέβαινεν ἔξω ἐκ τὰ νησία, ἀμέριμνα καὶ ἀφοβα, ὥσπερ εἰς τὰ νησία
15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 155–6

ἔθεσαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀναγεγραμμένη μονὴ εἰς ὕμνον καὶ δόξα τοῦ παντοδυνάμου
Θεοῦ 1558, Corfu, KONDOYANNIS/KARYDIS 1994: 2, 649.11

ὁ δὲ ἀγαθὸς ἄνδρας ἐκεῖνος ... ἐκατενύγηκεν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 41.3–4

μέ

“with”, “by (means of)”

ὁ ἐκατήλλαξα μέ τὸ σύντεκνόν μου τὸν Μιχαήλ
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.24

ὅταν ἐσυμβιβάστηκα μέ τὸν ἐχτρὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5722

μέ τὸν μακαρίτην τὸν αὐθέντην τὸν πατέρα τοὺς ἐσυντύχαμεν περὶ τούτου
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.11–12

καὶ λαλοῦν πῶς ὁ κούντη τε Ρουχᾶς ἔνε εἰς μεγάλην ἀγάπην μέ τὴν κυράν μας τὴν
ρήγαινα 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 220.34–6

ἔστοντας νὰ ἐπάρουσι τὸ Σάλονα μέ προδοσίᾳ ἐνὸς Σαλονίτου, ... ἐπεράσασι ...

ξεπλερώνοντας ... τὸ γαῖμα τῶν συντρόφων, ποὺ μέ πόλεμο καλὸ χύθηκε στὸ
Γαλαξίδι 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 16.24–17.6

ἕνας ἀπὸ ἐκείνους ... ἀνέβηκε μέ μία σκάλα νὰ τὸ (καντῆλι) ἐξεκρεμάσῃ
18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 18.19–23

παρά

“beyond” (metaphorical), “(more) than” (with a comparative adjective/adverb), “other/ rather than”, “instead of”, “but for/except for” (= “only” in combination with a preceding negative, cf. “nothing but (for) X” = “only X”): περὶ is sometimes substituted

μὴ φοβηθῆς τὸν θάνατον παρὰ μητρὸς κατάραν 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 2

Φιλοπαππού, γνωρίζεις με παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους πλέον 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 1385

λεπτομερῶς τοὺς ἔδειξεν τὴν στράταν τῆς Πολέου, τὸ πῶς ἐνι διαφορικὴ πλέον παρὰ
(sc. ἐκεῖνην) τῆς Συρίας 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 505–6

ὅστις ἦτον μακρύτερα παρὰ γὰρ τὸν Δεσπότην 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3623

ἄλλα πλεῖστα καὶ πλειότερα παρὰ ἐκεῖνα ὅπου του ἐδῶκεν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4626

ὅσα παρὰ τὴν δύναμιν 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1560

πλέον περὶ ἄλλες Ἀμαζόνες αὐτὲς εἶχαν τὴν χάριν
15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* I.57,8 (Follieri)

τὰ ἄλογα δὲν εἶχα νὰ φᾶν παρὰ τὰ κιτρομηλόφυλλα
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 110.10–11

δὲν θέλετε τῶς πάρει παρὰ 5 τὰ ἑκατό 1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.143

NOTES

- (i) The meaning “but rather”, though not a feature of SMG, did occur in earlier demotic and is a natural development from “rather than”, cf. “don’t do X rather than Y” > “don’t do X but rather (do) Y”, where the preposition has been reanalysed as a conjunction. Μὴ φοβηθῆς τὸν θάνατον παρὰ μητρὸς κατάραν (*Dig.* E 2, cited above) might therefore be read this way, though unambiguous examples of such reanalysis are hard to find.
- (ii) We may also note the potential for reanalysis of παρὰ in negative contexts as the modifier of a numeral or quantifier, cf. MG δὲν ἦρθε παρὰ ἑνὸς X, where the use of the nominative excludes a prepositional analysis. Again, δὲν θέλετε τῶς πάρει παρὰ 5 τὰ ἑκατό (1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.143, cited above) might be understood this way, but clearly does not have to be.

πρός

"to(wards)" (spatial/metaphorical), "in accordance with", "against" (spatial), "about (number)", "X (number/amount) each" (distributive)

άνταπεκρίνατο πρός με ό ύποψήφιος ?1144, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 313.4

ώμον πρός ώμον έθηκαν και πρός αλληλους λεγουν 15th c./12th c., Dig. E 780

εκεινη εκατεπηδησεν και πρός εμένα ηλθεν 15th c./12th c., Dig. E 1186

οι δυο κονταδες του εδωκαν πρός εναν καβαλλαρην 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 220

ομπρός οπισω εξεβαιναν πρός εικοσι και τριαντα 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 1063

τα εθνη γαρ τα αβαφτιστα, ορκον αν σε ποιησουν πρός τα συνθηεια οπου εχουσιν 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 1249-50

ηρτεν πρός την ανατολην, και ηρτεν εις την Κυπρον, και επεζευσεν πρός την Λεμεσον και ηυρεν το νησιν ερημον 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 4.9-11

εις το πλε(υ)ρον του βηματου πρός τον νοτον χει λακκον 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 38.17-18

6.1.2 Prepositions of More Limited Frequency

Included here are a number of inherited prepositions, which may take the same case as in AG, or alternatively take a different case (given in brackets), either as a result of hypercorrection or in accordance with vernacular practice.

αντί + gen.(/acc.)

"instead of"

αρκουν εμοι τα κάλλη της αντι πολλων προικων 13th-14th c./12th c., Dig. G IV.747

αντι πατρος και αντι μητρος και αντι αδελφους και αντι φιλους εχω εσένα σημερον εδω εις την ξενιτειαν μου 14th-15th c./13th c., Liv. E 61-2

τας ψυχας αφησωμεν αντι λιθομαργαρων 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 225

ο δε τεχνιτης τον χρυσον εις δένδρον μεταπλάττει, αντι καρπων δε τεχνικως ενεθηκεν τους λιθους 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 317-18

βασιλεύς εστεφθηκα αντι δε του πατρος μου 16th c./15th c., Om. Nekt. Vas. 53

από + gen.

"from" (often non-spatial), "by (means of)", "as a result of/after", "X (number/amount) each" (distributive)

κατά ένα των αδελφων από δυο ιματιων εχειν χρη 12th c./11th c., NIKON, Logos 1 104.28-9

από μανιας μου ριπτω το ανταμου με το σκουτέλλιν 14th c./12th c., Ptoch. IV 244

τοτε να ιδης πολεμον καλων παλληκαριων και από της μάχης της πολλης κρουσιν διασυντόμως 15th c./12th c., Dig. E 35-6

ημεις γαρ ευρισκόμεθα από γενεας μεγαλης 15th c./12th c., Dig. E 136

από καρδιας εστεναξεν, εκ βάθους της ψυχης του 15th c./12th c., Dig. E 635

εις τον μαρκέσην ηλθασιν, γλυκεά τον χαιρετουσιν ... από των λοιπων όλων των πελεγρινων 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 228-30

η πόλις επιάστη από σπαθίου, ώσαν σε το αφηγομαι 14th c., Chron. Mor. H. 550

να στείλω εκεί φουσσατα ... να υπαγουν της θαλάσσης κι απαυτου παλε από της γης να υπαγουν της στερεας 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 4233-5

διά + acc.(/gen.)

"because of"

διά του ελέους του ορισεν τον Κεραμέαν ο,τι χει δια πρακτικου ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.32

ελόγισεν, ως φρόνιμος, οτι αμαρτία ηθελε εισται, διά ενός ανθρωπου θάνατον να μεινη το πασσατζο 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 169-70

εγνωριζω οτι διά εμου την αφορμήν το πολεμουν εκεινοι 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 283-4

διά τα δγια λειψανα τα ευρισκονται εις την Κυπρον 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. O 24.6-7

διά τουτο γράφω ..., διά τον απειθη λαόν, οπου δεν βοηθα τον αρχιερα αυτου 1622, ?Karpathos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: B, 300.14-17

διά το αυτον πραμα οπου ειχε την επηρε δια γυναικαν του 1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.7-11

διά + gen.(/acc.)

"through(out)", "by means of"

διά πολλης ταχύτητος ηλθον εις Ρωμανίαν. ... οι και τουτω εδηλωσαν διά γραμματηφόρου 13th-14th c./12th c., Dig. G II.100-3

το δένδρον ... ποτε ου καρπευγει διά την γην 15th c./13th-14th c., Liv. E 145-7

διά θαλάσσης και ξηρας να υπασιν να κουρσευσουν 15th c., Chron. Toc. 1.61

ευρέθην δι' αποκαλύψεως θεου 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 34.1

εκ + gen.(/acc.)

"from/out of", "as a result of"; εκ μερους = "on behalf of"

ω παναθλια, τι επαθες εκ της παραδικιας! 15th c./12th c., Dig. E 115

απηρεν δυο καβαλλαριους οπου ειχε εκ της βουλης του εκ την Τσαμπάνια εξεβηκεν κ' εις την Φιλαντρίαν ηλθεν 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 172-3

εις τον μαρκέσην ηλθασιν, γλυκεά τον χαιρετουσιν εκ μερους των ευγενικων εκεινων των κονταδων 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 228-9

μετα ταυτα του ελάλησεν, εκ στοματος του ειπεν 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 329

εκ τον πολυν του τον δαρμόν 15th c., Peri xen. 31

ο ανθρωπος ... πιάνει τον (ξύλινον θεόν) εκ τους πόδας και ριπτει τον εις την γην και όταν εσυντριφθη, εκ το κεφάλιν ερευσε χρυσάφι 16th c., NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth. 109.5

ἐν + dat./acc.)

"in"; ἐν τούτῳ = "then/next"

πρόφθασον ἐν ἀνάγκαις νῦν, πρόφθασον ἐν τῇ θλίψει 15th c./12th c., Dig E 1840

ἐν τούτῳ, ὡς ἠθέλησε Θεὸς νὰ γένῃ τὸ πασσάτζο 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 157

ὡς γὰρ ἐνστάζει χάριτας ἔρως ἐν ἄλλοις πᾶσιν, οὕτως ἐν μόνῳ χωρισμῷ γέμει
πολλὰς πικρίας 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 18–19ἐν δὲ τοὺς χρόνους καὶ καιροὺς ἐκείνους ὅπου ἀκούεις οἱ Ἀλβανῖται ἀφέντευον τὸν
τόπον Δεσποτάτου 15th c., Chron. Toc. 44–5ἐβουλεύτηκα ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν τριάδι προσκυνουμένου, νὰ
ἐξηγηθῶ περὶ τῆς ἀκριβοῦς χώρας Κύπρου. Ὡς χρόνοι εἶνε γ' ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ...
ἤτζου εἶνε καὶ οἱ ἔμειραι τῆς ζωῆς μας 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 2.1–5
ἐγράπτη ἐν τῇ πόλει Λευκωσία ἰγ' δικεβρίου, ατξη' Χριστοῦ
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 222.5–6

ἐπί + acc. (sometimes for traditional genitive, e.g. ἐπὶ τοῦτον for ἐπὶ τούτου)

"to(wards)", "for (the purpose of)", "for (the duration of)"

ἀλλήλους ἐσυνέκοπτον ἐπὶ πολλὰς τὰς ὥρας 13th–14th c./12th c., Dig. G I.179

κάκειθεν μὲν ὑπέστρεφον πάντες ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον 13th–14th c./12th c., Dig. G III.32

θρονηέντες ἀνέδραμον πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος 13th–14th c./12th c., Dig. G III.94

ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον ὁ λόγος ἀνακτέον 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 23

οἱ Γενουβίσοι ἐποίκων ἕναν χαρτὶν νοταρικόν: "... ἐμπροσθεν ἐμοῦ ... καὶ μαρτύρων
..., ἐπὶ τοῦτον κληθέντων καὶ παρακληθέντων ..."

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 504.29–33

ἐπί + gen.

"(up)on", "during (the time of)"; ἐπὶ ὀνόματος = "in the name of"

ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκατεστάθησαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν μας 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 215

ἐλιγοθύμησε ... καὶ πεσοῦσα ἐπὶ γῆς παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα
15th c./12th c., Dig. E 1864–5ἐπὶ τῆς αὐρίου γὰρ τὸ πρωῒ, ... ἐδῶκαν τὰ σαλπύγγια τους
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 1479–80καθήμενος ἐπὶ λαμπροῦ βασιλικοῦ τοῦ θρόνου
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 695εὐρέθη στρώμα κείμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς στρωμένον
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 798ἡ ποία ἀγία ... ἐποίκεν καὶ ἔκτισαν πολλὰς ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐπὶ
ὀνόματος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζώντος 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 4.23–6

ἐπὶ + dat.

"on (top of)/over" (non-spatial), "in (the case of)", "for (the purpose of)"

ἐπὶ προδότης πράγμασιν οὐ χρεῖα τῶν μαρτύρων 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 44
τοῦ κόρακος ἐπάνω μου τῆς στέγης ἐπὶ κακῷ καθίσαντος καὶ κράζειν ἀρξαμένου
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 46–7

ἐπὶ θανάτῳ θάνατον δέχεται καθ' ἑκάστην 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 113

ἡ μήτηρ εὐφραίνεται ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ τέκνοις 13th–14th c./12th c., Dig. G II.35

κατὰ + acc.

"according to", "through(out)/during": κατὰ τύχη(ν) = "by chance"

ὁ τέλει γὰρ χρησάμενος τοῦ βίου κατὰ φύσιν 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 102

ὅς εἶδες κἂν ἐνύπνιον γλυκὺν κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον! 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 168

ὁ υἱός μου νὰ ἔλθῃ μετ' ἐσᾶς κατὰ τὰς συμφωνίας μας 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 700

ποῦ κατὰ τύχην ἀπέρχεται βάρκα ἀπὸ τὴν Πούλιαν 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 2240

μὲ τὸ θέλημα ὅλους τοὺς περίτου αὐθέντες ... ὅπου εὐρίσκονται κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 42.11–13μία λοιμικὴ ἀσθένεια ... ἐποίκε ἐξολόθρεμα καὶ κατὰ τὰ μέρη Σαλόνου
18th c., EFTHYM., Chron. Gal. 20.1–4

κατὰ + gen./acc.)

"in front of" (spatial), "against" (metaphorical); κατὰ πρόσωπα = "in the face of"

θεωρεῖς ἐκείνους τοὺς ἀγρίους ὁρμώντας οὕτω κατὰ σοῦ
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 173–4

τὸν ἰὸν ἐξέχεε κατὰ τοῦ εὐεργέτου 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 386

ἀνάθεμά με, βασιλεῦ, ὅταν στραφῶ καὶ ἰδῶ τον, τὸ πῶς ἀνακομβώνεται κατὰ τῆς
μαγειρείας 14th c./12th c., Ptoch. III 131–2ἡ πόλις τῆς Τσάρας ... ροβολεμένη εὐρίσκετον κατὰ τῆς Βενετίας
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 416–17

ὅποτε θελήσου νὰ ρεβελιάσουν κατὰ μέναν 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 20.10

ἂν σηκῶσῃ τὸ χεῖρὶν του κατὰ πρόσωπα τοῦ ψουμάτου
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 24.28–9εἰς τὸ ὅποιον περισσότερο ἐθυμώθηκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὠργίζετο κατὰ τῶν μοναχῶν
17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas. 39.21–2

μετὰ + acc.

"after"

μετὰ δὲ τὴν συνάφειαν συνέλαβεν ἡ κόρη, καὶ ἔτεκε τὸν Διγενῆ Βασίλειον Ἀκρίτην
13th–14th c./12th c., Dig. G II.47–8

μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ ἐλάλησεν, ἐκ στόματος τοῦ εἶπεν 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 329

μετά τὴν παραδρομὴν καὶ τοῦ τοσοῦτου τόπου εἰς κάστρον κατηντήσασιν μέγα
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 173–4

μετά τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ρε Οὕγκε ἐρμάστην με τὸν Ρεῖμουν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ πρίντζη
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 40.15–16

μετά + gen./acc.)

“with”

λεπτῶς τὸν ἀφηγήσαντο τὴν πράξιν καὶ τὸν βίον, κι ὅσα ἐκατεστήσασιν μετά τοὺς
Βενετικούς 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 376–7

μετά βουλῆς καὶ ὀρισμοῦ κύρ Σάκη τοῦ Βατάτση ἐστέψασιν διὰ βασιλέαν Ἀλέξιον
τὸν υἱὸν του 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 587–8

πρὸς τὸν τρίτον τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας μεταγαγεῖν ἐπείγετο μετά πολλοῦ
τοῦ πόθου 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 36–7

οἱ Βενετικοί ... με πονηρίαν, με φρόνεσιν, μετά μεγάλης τέχνης, γιοφύρια ἐποίκασιν
ἄνω εἰς τὰ καράβια 16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 540–2

μέχρι + gen./acc.)

“as far as/until”

ἀπὸ γὰρ τὴν ἀνατολὴν μέχρι τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν δύσιν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1610

ἀνέταξεν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴν κρεμαμένην κόρην, μέχρι ποδῶν ἐκ κορυφῆς ὡς ἄκρων τῶν
δακτύλων 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 508–9

κοιμάται μέχρι δειλινοῦ βασιλικῶς ἡ κόρη 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2120

φαίνονται μέχρι τὴν σήμερον τὸ τειχόκαστρον καὶ οἱ θεμελοὶ τοὺς πύργους
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 98.15–16

παρά + acc./gen.)

“against/beside”, “contrary to”; παρά καιρόν = “out of time, at the wrong time”

παρά καιρόν ὑποπeseῖν θανάτῳ κατεκρίθη 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 569

νὰ με ὀνειδίξης ἄσκημα, ἀδίκως, παρά λόγου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4175

παρά τὴν ρίζαν τοῦ δενδροῦ ἐκείνου καθημένη 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1815

ὄφεις μεγάλοι, φοβεροὶ καὶ θῆρες παρά φύσιν 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 190

νεκρὸς νὰ γένηται εὐθύς παρά τῆς ὥρας 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2554

παρά + gen.

“from/by” (an animate source)

τοιαῦτα πέπονθα δεινά, κρατάρχα στεφηνόρε, παρά μαχίμου γυναικὸς καὶ
τρισαλιτηρίας 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 268–9

φωνὴ παρά τοῦ δράκοντος εἰς τὸν Ἀκρίτην ἦλθεν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1090

παρά σαλῶν καὶ ἄτακτων ἀνθρώπων ἐδιδάχθη 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1565

τὸ τί ... νομεύεται παρά τοῦ Καμπανέση 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1909–10

περί + gen./acc.)

“about/concerning” (non-spatial); περί πολλοῦ = “greatly”

ἡμᾶς δὲ κατηχίζουσιν περί φιλαργυρίας 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 407

ἄς σᾶς ἀφηγήσωμαι περί τὰς ἀμωρίας του 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 619

περί ἀπελάτων ἤκουσε εὐγενικῶν καὶ ἀνδρείων 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 624

οἱ Φράγκοι γὰρ ὡς ἔμαθαν περί τοῦ βασιλέως 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 560

ἐβουλεύτηκα ... νὰ ἐξηγηθῶ περί τῆς ἀκριβῆς χώρας Κύπρου
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.1–3

ἄς ποῦμεν καὶ περί τῶν κουμουνίου τῶν Γενουβίσεων καὶ Βενετικῶν
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 198.31–2

ἀγάπα δὲ περί πολλοῦ νέους χαριτωμένους 16th c., *Imb. Rim.* 17

πρὸ + gen.

“before” (spatial [early])/temporal/metaphorical); πρὸ καιροῦ = “before one’s time”,
πρὸ πάντων = “above all”

τοῦτο πρὸ πάντων ἀπιστον εἶχον καὶ φλυαρίαν 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 17

ὦ πάτερ, πάτερ βασιλεῦ, παῖδας ἀνάνδρους ἔχεις, ἂν πρὸ πολέμου τρέπωνται καὶ
φεύγουσι πρὸ μάχης 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 112–13

καλὸν μὲν οὖν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοῦτο πρὸ πάντων ἄλλων τὸ μὴ πεσεῖν εἰς μέριμναν
ἐρωτικὴν τὸν νοῦ σου 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1029–30

ἔναν εὐροῦσα πρὸ πυλῶν ἀπὸ τῶν παιδοπούλων, στήκει καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1070–1

πῶς ἐμαράνθη πρὸ καιροῦ ἀπὸ κλαθμοῦ καὶ πόνου
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1591

τὰ κοντάρια στένουσιν πρὸ μάχης νὰ κινήσουν 16th c., *Imb. Rim.* 460

σύν + dat./gen.)

“(together) with”

αὐτὸς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦπτετο ἅμα σύν τοῖς ἀγούροις 13th–14th c./12th c., *Dig.* G II.300

ἐξῆλθον ἔξωθεν καγὼ θρηνῶν σύν τοῖς ἐτέροις 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 218

τὸ κοράσιο ἐγέλασεν, μεγάλως τὸ ἀποδέχθη καὶ σύν ἐκείνης τῆς χαρᾶς πάλιν γελά
ἡ κόρη 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1120–1

οἱ καβαλλάραι σύν αὐτῷ εὐτύς ἐγονατίσαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5887

ἐδόκει γὰρ σύν τῷ λευκῷ καὶ ρόδου χάριν ἔχειν
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 816

ὑπὲρ + acc./gen.)

“above/beyond/past” (spatial [early])/metaphorical), “more than”

κἂν ὑπὲρ κέδρους ὑψωθῇ καὶ κορυφᾶς ὀρέων 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 374

ἔχει ... καὶ τόλμην ὑπὲρ ἅπασαν καὶ γνώμην θηριώδην 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 1333–5

ἄνθρωπος ἦτο εὐγενικός, φρόνιμος ὑπὲρ μέτρου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 161

- δπου ἀπιστήσαν εἰς ἐμὲν ὑπὲρ φορῶν γὰρ δύο 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5660
 διατὶ ἦτον εὐγενικός κ' εἰς πλοῦτος ὑπὲρ φύσιν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 6298
 τὴν ἡδονὴν ὑπὲρ τὸν λόγον ἔχων 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 286
 τὰς χάριτας ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν Χαρίτων φύσιν 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 810
 κρατούμενοι ὁ εἰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄλλου εἰς πίστιν 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 260.10–11

ὑπὲρ + gen.

"for (the purpose of)", "on behalf of", "because of"

- θανοῦσα ὄψεσθε μητέρα ὑπὲρ τέκνου 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G I.79
 τοὺς μαρτυρήσαντες στερρῶς ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ τοῦ λόγου 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 288
 κλίνειν ἔχω κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς μου πρώτης 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 290
 αὐτὰς ψυχὰς προδώσωμεν, τὰ σώματά μας ὅλα ὑπὲρ ἀγάπης ἀδελφοῦ 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1355–6

ὑπὸ + acc.

"under/beneath" (rare/early)

- δεῦρο ὑπὸ σκιὰν ἀπέλθωμεν τοῦ δένδρου 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G VI.775
 μὴ γὰρ ἀπόσῃ με ... ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν προστρέχοντα μετὰ δακρύων σκέπτην 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 9–10

ὑπὸ + gen.

"by" (agent/instrument); ὑπὸ χειρὸς (formulaic)

- ὧν δὲ τὰ μέλη ἅπαντα ... γνωρισθῆναι ὑπὸ τινος μὴ δυνάμενα ὅλως 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G I.229–30
 πῶς κατεκόπητ μεληδὸν ὑπὸ χειρὸς βαρβάρων; 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G I.239
 ὡς ὑπὸ βέλους τὰς ψυχὰς ἐτρώθησαν τῷ κάλλει 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G VI.127
 ἐστέφθη εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Νικόλαον ὑπὸ χειρὸς τοῦ φρε Πιερ Τουμάς 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 92.31–2
 ἰδόντας ὁ Μπαγιαζῆτης ὅτι νικᾶται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκθροῦ του 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.23–4

χάριν + gen.

"for (the sake of)"; follows NP in AG

- χάριν αὐτοῦ μὴ θλίβεσαι 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 313
 εἰ προσεγγίσει πώποτε τολμήσει τῷ πυλῶνι χάριν μικρᾶς ἀνακωχῆς καὶ κουφισμοῦ τῶν πόνων 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 452–3
 τίνα ζητεῖτε, ἄγουροι, τίνος χάριν θρηνεῖτε; 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G I.218
 τούτου χάριν τὸν πόλεμον οὐδαμῶς ἐπρησύνθη 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G VI.752
 τὸ ἕτερον (ἔχω ἀγοράν) ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρασκευᾶ καὶ τοῦ Παγκάλου καὶ Πετρῶνα χάριν ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.26

- ἃς δώσουν καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ὑπὲρ πυρον ἂ χάριν κουρτζουβακίου ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.52
 ὁθεν καὶ χάριν τούτου γράφοντες ἀναφέρομεν τῷ σῶ μεγίστῳ κράτει 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2274–5

χωρὶς + gen./acc.)

"without"

- γονεῖς ἀτέκνους καθιστᾷ, τέκνα χωρὶς γονέων 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 35
 χωρὶς θαλάσσης πνίγεσαι, χωρὶς πυρὸς ἐξάπτεις 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 145
 εἰ δὲ κάκεῖνος τρέφει με, χωρὶς λόγου παντοῦ, νὰ λήψεσθε τὴν ἀδελφὴν μηδὲν ζημιωθέντες 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G I.122–3
 οὐκ ἔκρινα τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς χωρὶς ὅπλων 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G VI.521
 αὐτοὶ τὸν ἀπεκρίθησαν λόγια χωρὶς ἔργον 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1625
 ὠμόσαν μερτικὸν θεληματικῶς, καὶ μερτικὸν χωρὶς τὸ θέλημάν τους 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 44.29–30
 ἔμεινεν χωρὶς βλάβην ὡς γοιὸν ἦτον 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 68.16
 θέλω ... τίποτας νὰ μὴν ποίσης χωρὶς τοῦ θελημάτου μου 16th c., *Imb. Rim.* 167–8

6.2 Phrases with a Governing Adverb

(82) Local, temporal and comitative PPs headed by ἀπό/ἐκ, εἰς/ἐπὶ and μέ may be governed by semantically appropriate adverbs; these combinations in part replace the simple prepositions that were falling out of use (see above). The adverbial element usually precedes the PP, though sometimes follows it.

Such adverbs may also govern a genitive NP directly; clitic (personal) pronouns are regular in this construction, and clitics also appear with certain other adverbs (for examples see below).

6.2.1 Adverb Governing a PP (Headed by ἀπό/ἐκ, εἰς/ἐπὶ, μέ)

With ἀπό and ἐκ

(i) = "above"/"below" (with separation)

- ὁ ἴδρος τους ἐξεβαίνειν ἀπάνω ἀπ' τὰ λουρίκια 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 41
 ἡ λεγόμενη χώρα τῆς Ἰνδίας εὐρίσκεται κάτω ἀπὸ τὴν Αἴγυπτον 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 30.21–2

(ii) = "outside"/"out of"

- ἄρχισεν ἐξεβαίνειν ἔξω ἐκ τὰ νησιά, ἀμέριμνα καὶ ἀφοβα, ὥσπερ εἰς τὰ νησιά 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 155–6
 τοῦ ὁποίου δίδει ἀουτοριτάν ... ὅτι νὰ ἡμπορῇ νὰ τήνε ντεφεντέρη ... καὶ ὅξω ἀποὺ τὴν κούρτην εἰς πᾶσα κρίσιν καὶ ὀφίκιον τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας 1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.4–7

(iii) = "apart from" (non-spatial), "without"

- ἔσὺ ῥθες κ' ἐπολέμησες χωρὶς ἐκ τὴν βουλή μου 16th c., *Imb. Rim.* 153
 ἐμολόγησεν εἰς τὸν ὄρκον του πῶς δὲν ἐγένηκε ἄλλην προσκάμωσιν παρὲξ ἀπὸ τὰ
δύο μουσκάρια 1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 20, 32.6-7
 τοὶ ὁποῖες ἀτσετάραν καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἀδελφοί, ὄξω ἀπὸ τὸ Στράτη
 1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 841, 733.16-17

(iv) = "after"

- ὕστερα ἀπὸ τοῦτα, ἐκαμώθη ὁ σουλτάν Μεχεμέτης τάχα πῶς θέλει νὰ κάμη
 ἀγάπην μὲ τὸν βασιλέα 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 83.9-10
ὕστερα ἀπὸ κάμποσα, μία λοιμικὴ ἀσθένεια ... ἐποικε ἐξολόθρεμα καὶ κατὰ τὰ
 μέρη Σαλόνου 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 20.1-4

With εἰς/σέ and ἐπὶ

(i) = "(up)on, above, over"/"below"

- στραφεῖς οὖν πάλιν ἔπεσον ἐπάνω ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 204
 ὀρκῶ σε κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κ' εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπάνω 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7543
 βουλὴν ἀπήρα ... ποτὲ νὰ μὴ τὴν στρέψω ὥσὸτι στέκη ἡ ψυχὴ ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ
κορμί μου 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1412-13
 οἱ Βενετικοί ... γιοφύρια ἐποίκασιν ἄνω εἰς τὰ καράβια
 16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 540-2
 ἦλθαν καταπάνου εἰς τὸ φουσάτον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου
 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 14.21-2 (Konstantinopulos)
 στρώσετε τάβλα ἀπουκάτου εἰς τὴν ἀπιδέα, νὰ φάω, νὰ πιῶ μὲ τὸ Χάροντα
 16th c., *Nov. II* 162.35-6
 φάγα το (ψωμί) οἱ γι-ἄθρωποι ἀποπάνω στὸν τάφο τῆς
 1642, Crete, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 21, 15.8
 νὰ πᾶς νὰ τὸν ἀγκαλιαστῇς εἰς τὸ δέντρο ἀποκάτω
 18th c./16th-17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.1546
 ὁ Σάντσος ἐκαλοκάθισεν ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ γομάρι του 18th c., *Don Kis.* 47.27-8

(ii) = "between"/"during"

- ἀρκεῖ καὶ σώζει νὰ γενῇ εἰρήνη καὶ φιλία ἀνάμεσα γὰρ εἰς τοὺς δύο ἀφέντες τῆς
Ρωμανίας 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2582-3
μέσον εἰς τὰ καμώματα ... ἔτυχε καὶ συνέβηκεν ἀπέθαν<εν ὁ Σπά>τας
 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 174-5
ἀνάμεσα εἰς τοῦτα ἐσυνέβηκε καὶ ἐτοῦτο 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 39.20-1

(iii) = "inside"

- ἔσὺ ἂν ... καὶ βλέπης ἄλλον κείμενον ἀπέσω εἰς τὸ καμίνιν
 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 119-20

- τοὺς ἐκατέσφαξαν ἀπ' ἔσω εἰς τὰ κρεββάτια 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1542
 τὸν ἐκράτει ὁ βασιλέας εἰς φυλακὴν του ἀπέσω 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7969
 πηγαίνοντα εἰς τὴν ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν, ἐβγάλαν τὰ πράματα τὰ ἐπῆραν ..., μέσα στὸ
παλάτιν τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 20.5-7
 ἡ πανιερότη σου δὲ μοῦ ἔκαμες δύο λόγια ἐκεῖ μέσα στὴ γραφὴ
 1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.24-5

(iv) = "in front of"/"behind", "before" (temporal)

- στὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον καὶ καιρόν, ὅπου σὲ ἀφηγήθην ἐδῶ ὀπίσω εἰς τὸ βιβλίον
τοῦτο ποῦ ἀναγινώσκεις 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7964-5
 βλέποντας ἕνα καντήλι ..., ποῦ ἔκαιε ἐμπρὸς στὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ
 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 18.20-2
 ἐπεριπατοῦσε καὶ ἔτρωγεν κατόπι εἰς τὸν ἀγάν του 18th c., *Don Kis.* 47.29

(v) = "near/beside/around"

- τὰ τριπουτσέτα ἐσύρνασιν γύρωθεν εἰς τοὺς πύργους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1481
 ἔχοντα καὶ ἦτον κοντὰ τὸ Ἱεροσόλυμαν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον, ἦλθαν πολλοὶ μὲ τὲς
 γυναῖκες τους καὶ μὴ τὰ παιδιά τους 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 24.7-9
 ἔκαμνε χρεῖαν ὅτι ἐγὼ νὰ σταθῶ σιμᾶ εἰς τὸ κτίσμα 17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 57

(vi) = "as far as"

- ἐρχόντησαν μέχρι εἰς τὴν γῆν ὥσάν νὰ ἦσαν βάρκες 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 539
μέχρι στὴν Ἀνδριανόπολιν ἐσῶσαν κ' ἐκουρσέψαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 647
 ἐρήμωσαν πολλὰ μέχρι καὶ εἰς τὲς πόρτες 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 368

With μέ = "together with"

- ἀπὸ μανίας μου ρίπτω το ἀνταμοῦ μὲ τὸ σκουτέλλιν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. IV* 244
 στέκοντας καὶ ὁ Ἰωσήφ εἰς τὴν Βηθλεέμ ὁμοῦ μὲ τὴν ἁγίαν Θεοτόκον Μαρίαν
 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 337.29-30
 εἰς τὴν διάταξίν σου ἀντάμα μὲ τοὺς κληρονόμους σου ... ἃς ἔχη τὸ χαρτί σου
 (καὶ) τ' ὄνομα τοῦ δικαστοῦ 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 494-6
ὁμάδι μὲ τὴν συμβίαν του καὶ μὲ τὴν θυγάτηρ των
 1594, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 152, 276.4-5
 τάσσει ὁ αὐτὸς ἀφέντης Τζώρτζης νὰ κάμη τὸ Γιάννη-Τουρκογιάννη ... νὰ σπείρου
ὁμάδι μὲ τὸν αὐτὸν κυρ-Νικολό τὰ χωράφια
 1611, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 729, 632.10-11
 διατὶ ἂν εἶναι ἐκεῖνοι ἀμάδι μὲ τοῦ λόγου σου, ἐγὼ δὲν σοῦ ἀποκρίνομαι
 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34, 1-2

6.2.2 Adverb + Genitive NP

ἕτερον χωράφιν εἰς τὴν Παληρέαν μοδίων ἡ', πλησίον τοῦ Πετεάκα καὶ τοῦ Τορνάρη
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.27

νὰ ποιήσῃ κι ἄλλον (κάστρον) γύρωθεν ἐκείνων τῶν βουνίων
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 3000

ἀνάμεσα γὰρ τῶν Φραγκῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐδικοῦ του ἀλλάγι ὑπάγαινε
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 5063-4

ἐπεὶ ... τοῦ τόπου τὰ συνήθεια ὀρίζουν ὅτι ὁ πρίγκιπας ... σωματικῶς νὰ ἀπέρχεται
ἐντὸς τοῦ πριγκιπάτου
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7880-3

ὁ τάφος τῆς εἶνε κάτω τῆς γῆς 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 34.2
μόνον μὲν τορμήσῃς νὰ τὸν πάρῃς ἔξω τῆς Κύπρου
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 68.24-5

νὰ ἐμποῦσιν μέσον τοῦ ρηγὸς καὶ ἐκείνου νὰ τοὺς ποίσουν ἀγάπην
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 198.2-3

τὰ ποῖα εἶναι καταπρόσωπα τοῦ λουτροῦ, τοῦ κόκκινου
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 6.13

ἐνέβην ὀμπρὸς τοῦ ρηγὸς 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 40.15-16
τὸ ἅγιο ἔργο ... ἔδωκε ἀφορμὴ ἡμᾶς ... νὰ φανερωθοῦμε ἐμπροσθεν τῆς
ἐκλαμπρότη(ς) σας 1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 33.3-5

ὥς δὲ ἐφθάσαμεν ἐμπροσθεν τῶν θυρῶν 16th c., PAPA-LAVR., Diigisis (Meteoron) 108.13
εἰς πᾶσαν αὐτῆς ὑπόθεσιν καὶ διαφορὰν ἐμπροσθεν τῆς ἐκλαμπροτάτης ἡμῶν
Αὐθεντίας
1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.4-5

ἐμάζωξε ὅλα του τὰ φουσσᾶτα καὶ ἐδιάβη καταπάνω τοῦ Μάρκου κράλη, ἀφεντὸς
τῆς Βουλγαρίας 17th c., Chron. Tourk. Soult. 29.11-12

ἐπῆγες καὶ κόντρα τῆς φύσεώς σου νὰ μὴν λυπηθῇς τὰ παιδία σου
17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas. 33.29-30

ὄντε ξημερώνει, ἄμε ὀμπροστὰς τοῦ βασιλέως 17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas. 42.5-6

+ Genitive Clitic

πῶς ἠπλώσας ἐπάνω μου; 14th c./12th c., Ptoch. I 145

ὀργὴν νὰ ἔχῃ ἀπάνου του ὅπου ποτὲ ἀγάπη θελήσῃ μὲ τὸν Πρίαμον νὰ ἔχῃ μίαν
ἡμέραν 16th c./14th c., Pol. Tr. 1467-9 app. crit. (V)

ἐξάγκωνα τοὺς φέρετε δεμένους ἐμπροσθὲ μου 15th c./14th-15th c., Achil. L 367

παρακαλῶ σε νὰ ποίσωμεν δῆμμαν μεσὸν μας
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 20.17-18

εἰς τὸ ἔμπα του εἰς τὸ καστέλλιν, ἐσφαλίσαν τὲς πόρτες καταπρόσωπά του
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 36.20-38.1

τὰ πρόβατά του δὲ θέλει χόρτα σήμερο νὰ φᾶν ἀπὸ σιμά του
17th c./16th c., CHORTATISIS, Panor. I.33-4

ὅλα τὰ τερπινὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἦσαν ὀμπρὸς του ὡσὰν ἓνας βρῶμος
17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas. 47.15-16

ὕστερα ἦρθανε καταπάνου τους βασιλικά στρατεύματα
18th c., EFTHYM., Chron. Gal. 22.13-14

Non-Spatial Adverbs + Genitive Clitic

τὸν ἔχω εὐκαιρητὴν ἐκείνον τὸν γονεάν ὅπου διδάξῃ γράμματα ποτέ του τὸ παιδί
του 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 208-9

ποτέ μου δὲν ἐζήλωσα κακὸν διὰ νὰ λαλήσω 16th c./15th c., Om. Nekt. Vas. 39

εἰς πάθη στέκω πάντα μου κι εἰς κόλαση μεγάλη
17th c./16th c., CHORTATISIS, Panor. I. 216

ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ συνβίαν του καὶ νὰ ἐπῆγεν νὰ ἐπουρκόταζε κρυφὰ του τῆς θυγατέρας
τῆς 1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.4-5

7 Coordination and Apposition

7.1 Coordination

7.1.1 Sentences and Clauses

(83) The linking together of (at least potentially) independent sentences within a narrative by means of initial *καί* is common in vernacular texts.

Treatment of such cases as a succession of autonomous sentences rather than a series of conjoined main clauses within a single sentence is essentially arbitrary, partly reflecting the manuscript tradition and partly the inclinations of editors.

The core meaning is simply additive ("and then/next"), though the context may invite more specific readings involving causation, consequence, etc.

Καί καθά πωρνὸν ἐπήγαιεν εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Σοφίαν. *Καί* ἐγρίκαν λειτουργίαν. *Καί* τότε ἐκαβαλλίκευγεν. *Καί* ἐπήγαιεν εἰς τὴν ῥήγαιναν. *Καί* ἡ ῥήγαινα ἐδείχνε του πολλὴν ἀγάπην. 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 50.2–5

Ἦτον ἐνὸς βασιλέως υἱός. *Καί* ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἠθέλησε νὰ ὑπάγῃ εἰς τὸν λουτρὸν νὰ λούσῃ τὸ κορμί του. Ἦτον παχὺς εἰς τὸ κορμί του, ὁμοῦ καὶ χοντρός, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ πάχους δὲν ἐφαινόnteσαν τὰ ἀρχίδια αὐτοῦ. *Καί* ὁ λουτριάρης, ἔστοντας νὰ ἰδῇ ἐτοῦτο, ὅτι κακὸν ἦτον τοῦτο τὸ πάθος, ἐκλαίεν αὐτόν. 16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 116.10–14

Καί ἐμαζώκτησαν πολλοὶ καὶ ἀρματώθησαν καὶ ἐδιάβησαν καὶ ἐστάθησαν κοντὰ στὸν ποταμὸν λεγόμενον Σάβα. *Καί* ἀκαρτερούσανε τὸν σουλτάν Μουράτη, ὅπου ἐρχέτονε μὲ πολὺ φουσσατο καὶ ἔσυρνε κοντὰ του καὶ τοὺς δύο του υἱούς. 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.14–17

(84) Two or more main clauses may be conjoined with (*καί* ...) *καί* "(both ...) and ...", as may two or more subordinate clauses of the same type/with the same function; these are normally governed by the same conjunction if one is present.

Since subject pronouns are regularly omitted in LMedG/EMG unless contrastive/emphatic, it is often impossible to determine whether we are dealing with coordination of complete clauses with missing subjects, e.g. [_S [_S (she) came] and [_S (she) saw] and [_S (she) conquered]], or coordination of VPs that share a subject, e.g. [_S (she) [_{VP} [_{VP} came] and [_{VP} saw] and [_{VP} conquered]]]. Ambiguous examples are therefore divided somewhat arbitrarily between the two possibilities (i.e. treated as clausal coordination immediately below, and as VP coordination in 7.1.3).

In cases other than those involving conjoined clauses/VPs the default position adopted here is that we are dealing with coordinated sub-clausal constituents of the relevant type (e.g. AdjPs [[*tall*] and [*slim*]] in *she was tall and slim* etc.; see 7.1.3 for LMedG/EMG

examples), even though competing analyses involving conjoined VPs with verb ellipsis [[*was tall*] and [(*was*) *slim*]] or conjoined clauses with omission of subject and verb [[*she was tall*] and [(*she was*) *slim*]] are often possible.

Ντζανέτα τὴν ὠνόμασαν, *κι* [ὅσον ἐκαταστάθη *κ'* ἦλθεν τοῦ νόμου ἡλικίας *κ'* ἐγίνετο γυναιῖκα], ἄντραν τῆς ἐδώκασιν μισὶρ Νικόλαον ἐκεῖνον. 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8032–4

ἔπιεν ὁ πτωχὸς τὸν οἶνον *καί* ἐλησμόνησεν τὰ χρέη του. 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 50

Ἦτον παχὺς εἰς τὸ κορμί του, ὁμοῦ *καί* χοντρός (sc. ἦτον), ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ πάχους δὲν ἐφαινόnteσαν τὰ ἀρχίδια αὐτοῦ. 16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 116.11–13

ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἰωάννου Κομνηνοῦ ... ἦτον ἕνας ὀνόματι Μιχαὴλ Δούκας Γλαβᾶς, *καί* ἐτίμησέ τον ὁ βασιλεὺς πρωτοστράτορα *καί* ἔδωκέν τον τὸ φοσσάτον ὄλον τὸ ῥωμαϊκὸν *καί* ἐμπιστεύθη του *καί* ἀπέστειλεν αὐτόν κατὰ Περσῶν ἡγουν τῶν Κιζιλμπάσιδων. 1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.3–5

ὁ ὁποῖος Λάζαρος ἔκαμε τέσσαρες ἡμέρες εἰς τὸν Ἄδην, *καί* ... ἐξηγήθη εἰς τέσσαρα βιβλία *καί* ἰδόντας αὐτὰ οἱ ἀπόστολοι *καί* οἱ πατέρες, ἔκρυψαν τὰ τρία *καί* δὲν ἠύρισκονταί· τὸ δὲ πρῶτον βιβλίον τοῦτο ἔναι εἰς τὴν Ρώμην *καί* ἤκουσα ἐκ τὸν Σάντα Κροῦζε τὸν γαρδηνάλε, ὅτι πᾶσα ὁποῦ νὰ γένη νέος καρδηνάλες, τοῦ τὸ δίδουνε, καὶ τὸ διαβάζει μία φορά, καὶ ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον δὲν τὸ δείχνουν. 1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 11, 19.1

ἐκόπηκε τὸ μιαρότατο χέρι του *καί* ἔπεσε νεκρὸ ... *καί* μεγάλος σεισμὸς ἐγενέθηκε. Ἐτότες ἐφάνηκε ἕνας καβαλάρης ... *καί* ἄρχισε νὰ σφάζῃ τοὺς πειράτες *καί* τοὺς ἐπῆρε κυνηγώντας ὅξω ἀπὸ τὸ Γαλαξειδί ..., *καί* ἐκεῖ ἔγινε ἀφαντος ἀπὸ τὴν γῆ. Ἐτότες οἱ Γαλαξειδιῶτες κατατρεγμένοι ἐπήγασιν *καί* ἐχτίσασιν σπίτια στὰ τριγύρω νησόπουλα. 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 18.24–19.8

Οἱ ἱατροὶ ἐτράβηξαν τὰ σαλιβάρια των μουλαρίων, *καί* ἐστάθηκαν *καί* ἔμειναν ἐκφοβοί, [ἕνα μὲν βλέποντας τὸ ἦθος τοῦ δὸν Κισότη *καί* ἄλλο ἀκούοντας τὰ λόγια ὁποῦ τοὺς ἔλεγε], *καί* τὸν ἀποκρίθηκαν. 18th c., *Don Kis.* 50.3–6

(85) The enclitic ("second-position") connective *δέ* "and/but" is also used to link both independent sentences in a discourse and clauses with parallel function in a single sentence.

Between independent sentences the choice between additive and contrastive meaning is context-dependent; between clauses in a single sentence the meaning is more often contrastive.

Δέ is particularly frequent in the combination *εἰ δέ (μή)* "and/but if (not)" (the negative version is also used as a lexicalized phrase = "otherwise").

Δέ may also be combined with the definite article in pronominal sense, e.g. *ὁ δέ* "and/but he" etc., which may in turn be clarified by an appositive NP, e.g. *ὁ δέ* [ὁ X] etc.; in rather more literary texts, *ὁ δέ* etc. is sometimes paired contrastively with a preceding *ὁ μὲν* etc. "the one ... ((while) the other ...)".

ὑπᾶτε, παραλάβετε, ἀμόλυντον κοράσιον· ἐγὼ *δὲ* διὰ τὰ κάλλη της καὶ τὴν πολλὴν εὐγένειαν ἀρνοῦμαι καὶ τὴν πίστι μου καὶ τὴν πολλὴν μου δόξαν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 174–6

- ὁ ἀδελφός μου ... ἐπῆγεν, τὸν Ἑρμοναν ἀνέδραμεν καὶ τὸν Ζυγὸν ἐπίασεν, τὴν δὲ Ἀρμενίαν ἐξήλειψεν, πολὺν κακὸν ἐποίησεν 15th c./12th c., *Dig. E* 261–3
- εἰ δὲ ἀγαπᾷς τὴν περισσά, τέκνον, ὡσάν μοῦ λέγουν, ἔπαρε καὶ αὐτὴν μετὰ ἐσέναν 15th c./12th c., *Dig. E* 282–3
- εἰ δὲ περάσῃ ὁ καιρὸς ... κὶ οὐδὲν ἀπέλθῃ ἐδῶ κανεῖς τὴν ἀφεντίαν νὰ ἐπάρῃ, θέλω γὰρ ... νὰ μείνῃς κύριος ἀπ' ἐμοῦ 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 1883–6
- ὅτι ἐκ τούς μῆνας δώδεκα ... νὰ ἐκπληρώνῃ ὁ κατὰ εἰς τούς τέσσαρους γὰρ μῆνας εἰς γαρνιζοῦν καθολικὴν ... τούς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους τέσσαρους νὰ ἀπέρχεται εἰς φουσσάτο, ... τὸ δὲ τὸ τρίτον τοῦ χρόνου ... ὀφείλει ὁ προνοιάτορας νὰ ἐνὶ ὅπου θέλει. 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 1995–2001
- καὶ ἐμείναν δ' σταυροί. Τὸν δὲ σταυρὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀφῆκεν τὸν εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων μὲ πολλὺν χρυσίον καὶ μαργαριτάριν, καὶ πέτρες. 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 6.7–9
- Ἡ δὲ ἡ ρήγαινα ἐκάτζειν εἰς τὸν ἡλιακὸν εἰς τὸ διάβαν τοὺς καβαλλάριδες 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 50.12–13
- ὁ κύριος οἶδεν ὅτι τῶρα τὰ ἐγροίκῃσα τοῦτα τὰ λογία, ὁ δὲ ὁ σουλτάνος μὲ πολλὴν χαρὰν καὶ πολλὴν ἀγάπην ἐστερέωσεν καὶ ἐβεβαίωσεν τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγάπην. 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 294.9–12
- Ἄνισως καὶ δὲν ἤξεύρῃ τίποτε, ἃς πάγῃ ἀκαταζήτητος, εἰ δὲ καὶ ξεύρῃ, νὰ τοῦ δώσουν θάνατον. 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 300.4–6
- ἀπὸ τὸν φόβον ἐπιάννασιν τὰ μαρμαρένα πιλερία ..., οἱ δὲ κεῖνοι ... καὶ κόββαν τὰ χέργια τους, καὶ ἐπέφταν καὶ ὀσκοτώνουνταν. 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 314.4–8
- καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐφουρκίσαν, τοὺς δὲ ἐκόψαν τὲς μοῦττες τους 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 674.14
- ἐστείλανε τὸν τζαούση μαντατοφόρο εἰς τὸν Μπαγιαζίτη, ὅτι νὰ δώσῃ τὰ κάστρη ..., εἴτε δὲ καὶ δὲν τὰ ἐπιστρέψῃ, τὸν ἔχει διὰ ἐκθρόν 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 38.7–9

NOTES

- (i) There are many examples of elliptical clausal conjunction involving ὡσαύτως/ὡσπερ/καθὼς καὶ “(just) as also ...”, where the connection is properly comparative/equative rather than simply additive, though the meaning slips easily into “and also” in many cases:
- οὐκ ἤμπορῶ ἀπόκρισιν νὰ ποιήσω ἄνευ βουλῆς καὶ θέλημα ... τοῦ ρῆγα, ... ὡσαύτως (οὐκ ἤμπορῶ ἀπόκρισιν νὰ ποιήσω ἄνευ βουλῆς καὶ θέλημα) καὶ τῆς ρηγαινας 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 242–6
- [τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀρχόντισσας μαντάμα Μαργαρίτας νὰ τὸ κρατήσετε καλὰ] [ὡσπερ (νὰ κρατήσετε καλὰ) καὶ τὸ τῆς κούρτης] 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7545–6
- ἐτοῦτα μὲν εἶπεν ὁ ἀστρολόγος, καθὼς πρωτύτερας (εἶπεν) καὶ ὁ Βαλαάμ 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 38.26

- (ii) Coordination between two clauses (with or without ellipsis) may also be achieved through the use of ὅχι μόνο(ν) ... ἀλλά/ἀμὴ/μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ... “not only ... but also ...”:
- ἐπλάκωσεν τὸν λαὸν ὅλον καὶ οὐχὶ μόνον (ἐπλάκωσεν τὸν λαὸν ὅλον) ὑπὸ ἀνέμου, ἀμὴ καὶ (ἐπλάκωσεν τὸν λαὸν ὅλον) ὑπὸ νεροῦ, ὅτι ἐξήχυσεν ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ ἐπνίξεν χιλιάδας ν' καὶ β' 1326, Cyprus, *DARROUZÈS* 1953: 41, 93.7–9
- καὶ ἔναι ἐντροπὴ μεγάλη· καὶ ὅχι μόνον ἐντροπὴν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ζημία 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 2773–4
- (iii) Absence of formal coordination (“asyndeton”) is a standard option between all but the last pair of a series of three or more coordinated clauses, though it is not uncommon, especially in verse, for coordination to be left unmarked throughout:
- ἡμουν παιδίν, ἐγήρασα, πολὺν διῆλθον κόσμον, σοφῶν ἀρχαίων ἤκουσα, πολλὰς ἀνέγνω βιβλους, πάντων ἐν πείρᾳ γέγονα, πᾶσαν ὁδὸν ἐξεῦρον, πλάσματα πάλιν μυθικά καὶ λόγους γραϊδίων ἡκριβωσάμην 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 1–5
- πίνει τα καὶ ἐρεύγεται, κίρνοῦν τὸν ἄλλον ἕνα, καὶ παρευθὺς ὑπόδημαν ἐγείρει καὶ πετσώνει 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 123–4
- θέλω νὰ ἀφηγήσωμαι περὶ τὸν Μέγαν Κύρην, ... ὅπου ἦτον δοῦκας Ἀθηνῶν, καλὸς ἀφέντης ἦτον 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7958–60
- ἂν στραφῇ εἰς τὴν Φραγκίαν, ἂν οὐδὲν ποιήσῃ ἔργον νὰ μείνῃ εἰς τὴν Ρωμανίαν νὰ εὖρῃ οἰκονομίαν του, ὅλοι τὸν θέλουσι γεῶν, μέμφεσται κὶ ὄνειδίζει 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 8183–5
- εἰς τὸ καράβι σύντομα ἐσέβηκεν, ὑπάγει ... τόσα ἐπλευσαν, τόσα ἐποικαν, φθάνουν τὴν Σαλαμίαν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1383–5
- ἔλα μέσα, ἰδές με 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 331.5
- (iv) When, after a negative proposition, a conjoined clause is also negated, οὐδέ/μηδέ “and not” are regularly used, though disjunctive οὔτε/μήτε “nor” are sometimes used instead, especially in more popular registers (the two meanings are barely distinct in negative environments); there is also some evidence in later texts of uncertainty regarding the choice of οὐδέ/οὔτε vs. μηδέ/μήτε:
- μὴ οὖν ἀποχωρίσης τους, μηδ' ἀποπέμψῃς μᾶλλον 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 12
- οὐκ εἶδα εἰς τὸ δακτύλιν μου κρικέλλιν δακτυλίδιν, οὐδὲ βραχιόλιν μὲ ἔφερες ποτὲ νὰ τὸ φορέσω 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 51–2
- ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲν τοῦ ἐποίκασιν τίποτε πονηρίαν, οὔτε ἀνυπολήπτῃσαν τὸν βασιλέαν κἀνόλως 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 5266–7
- θάνατον οὐκ ἐψήφησα ποτὲ εἰς τὴν ζωὴν μου, οὐδ' ἔλεγα [νὰ χωριστῇ ψυχὴ ἐκ τοῦ κορμίν μου] 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 57–8
- οἱ μάμμες ἔστεκαν ἔξω ἀπὸ τὸ σπήλαιον καὶ δὲν ἤβλεπαν, μήτε ἤμποροῦσαν νὰ σεβοῦν μέσα εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον ἀπὸ τὴν πολλὴν λάμψιν 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 329.24–6

τὰ πάθη της δε γνώθουσι, οὐδὲ τὰ κουρφα τῆς ἐνιῶσα καὶ λέν πῶς τὸ 'χει φυσικὸ
ν' ἀδυναμία τόσα 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.35–6
τῆς κόρης δὲν της ἄγγιξεν, οὐδὲ ἐπείραξεν την 17th c., PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2373

- (v) For the “subordinating” use of the conjunction καί, see Chapter 2, Rules (23), (27) and (29) (under *Verbs of Aspectual Specification*, NOTE (ii)).

7.1.2 Contrastive and Disjunctive Clausal Coordination

- (86) To emphasize a clearly contrastive/adversative connection between sentences or clauses (= “but”, “however”) ἀλλά, ἀμ(μ)ή/ἀμ(μ)έ/μά, ὅμως and πλήν are used; ὅμως only links independent sentences, but the remaining conjunctions are also used to connect clauses within a sentence.

ἀμμή δεσμά καὶ βάσανα καὶ φυλακὰς καὶ πύργους, Βαράγγους ἀ[λαλά]ζοντας καὶ ὁ
φόβος ἐξυπνᾷ σε 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 169–70

Ὅμως ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν δόξαν οὐδὲν εὐρίσκω εἰς ἐμὲν ...
τοσοῦτην ἀδιάκρισιν, νὰ μὴ τὸ ἐγνωρίζω ὅτι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 947–9

μὴ ἀκριβευτῇ, ὀκνήσῃ το, μὴ ὅλως τὸ ἀμελέσῃ, ἀλλὰ ἅς βιαστῇ μὲ προθυμίαν τὸν
τόπον νὰ κερδίσῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4566–7

Ἀλλὰ ἀφότου ἄλλαξεν τοῦ πρίγκιπος ἡ ἀφεντία, καὶ ἤλθαμεν στὴν ἀφεντίαν τοῦ
ἀφέντη μας τοῦ ρῆγα, ἐὰν εἶχαμεν τὴν δύναμιν νὰ ἐποιήσαμεν τὸ ὁμάτζιον!
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7908–10

Ὅμως ἅς λείψουν τὰ πολλὰ, ἐὰν ἔν' τὸ θέλημά σου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7916
τίποτε δὲν σας θέλουν ὠφελῆσαι (τῶν Φραγγῶν τὰ λόγια), πλήν θέλουν σας χαλάσει,
καθὼς ἐχαλάσασιν καὶ τοὺς θεσσαλονικαίους 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.15–16

Ὅμως τοῦτο θέλομεν τὸ σκεφθῇ ἀντάμα, καὶ θέλομεν ποιήσῃ τὸ κάλλιον
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.5–6

δὲν σᾶς τὸ ἔγραψα ὅτι πῶς νὰ πορνεύετε, ἀμμή διὰ νὰ μὴν ἀπελπίζεται τινὰς κἄν
ἀμαρτωλὸς πολλὰ καὶ ἂν ἔναι, ἀλλὰ νὰ σπουδάξῃ νὰ κἀνῃ ἐλεημοσύνην
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 415.21–4

Ὅμως δὲν διδοῦμεν ἀφορμὴν τινος καὶ σκούζαν νὰ μὲν δίδῃ ψυχικά, ἐλεημοσύνην,
ἀποὺ ζῶντά του, ἀμμή νὰ τὰ φυλάγῃ ἀποθανόντα του 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 499–501

δὲν ἦτον φῶς καθαρὸν, ἀμμή ἦτον ὥσαν ἀντάρρα
16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 107.30–1

Μὰ εἶν' τὸ πρεπτό ... νὰ σᾶσε φανερώσω ποιοὺς εἶμαι
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor. Prol.* Apoll. 9–10

δὲν εἶδα νὰ σταθῇ τὸν ἥλιο νὰ μ' ἀκούσῃ, μὰ εἶδα χαράκια καὶ δεντρά πολλὰ ν'
ἀνασπαστοῦσι, νὰ φεύγῃ 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Panor.* I.73–5

Ἀμ' ὅσῃν ὥραν ἤβλεπεν ἐκεῖνο ποὺ τὴν κρίνει, οἱ λογισμοὶ κ' οἱ πόνοι τῆς τῆς κἀναν
καλοσύνη, μὰ σὰν τὸν εἶχε στερευτῇ, περίσσια ἐτυραννᾶτο κι ὅλη ἐξαναμαλάσσετο
κι ὅλη ἐξαναγεννᾶτο 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.19–22

Πλήν φαίνεται τῶνε πῶς εἶναι μίαν σκλαβίαν νὰ εἶναι εἰς τὴν ὑποταγὴν τοῦ κοινοβίου
1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.12–13

- (87) Disjunctive clausal coordination is expressed positively by (εἴτε ...) εἴτε ... / (ἢ ...) ἢ ... “(either ...) or ...” (also οὐ in Cyprus, γή/δ in Crete, ὅβερ in the Cyclades etc.), and negatively by οὔτε ... οὔτε ... / μήτε ... μήτε ... “neither ... nor ...”; οὐδέ/μηδέ “and not” may be substituted when the sense is clearly additive (cf. NOTE (iv) above), though this also occurs occasionally when the meaning is disjunctive.

For the single use of οὔτε/μήτε, see again NOTE (iv) above.

In later texts there is evidence of uncertainty regarding the choice between οὐ and μή in these elements.

When forms of θέλω are contrasted in formulaic expressions of the type “(whether I/you) like it or not”, the conjunction is normally omitted (θέλεις ... θέλεις ... can be used to mean simply “whether ... or ...”):

θέλω οὐ θέλω γίνομαι καὶ τὸ μωροῦ σαμάριν 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 558

ἐννόμους δὲ γάμους πληροῦσιν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι, ὅταν εἶναι ὁ ἄνθρωπος χρόνων ιδ' καὶ
ἄνωθεν, ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ γυναῖκα νὰ ἔναι χρόνων ιβ' καὶ ἄνωθεν, θέλεις αὐτεξούσιοι
θέλεις ὑπεξούσιοι ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 238.400–2

Positive

ἦντεστάθην, ὅταν τὸ ἤκουσα εἴτε ἐθεώρουν τινὰς, ὅτι ἐκρατοῦσαν το
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.5–6

τὸ μεγαλογράμματον ἱμάτιν τὸ κνηκάτον ἢ χάρισον ἢ πώλησον ἢ δὸς ὅπου κελεύεις
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 60–1

ἐκεῖνον τὸ πρᾶγμαν εἶχάν το πάρειν, οὐ εἶχάν το σύρειν εἰς τὴν γῆν τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς
15th c./13th c., *Assizes B* 424.9

ἄσ' τα αὐτὰ τὰ φαγητὰ καὶ δὲς νὰ μοῦ βοηθήσῃς, γῆ ἀποθαμένος βρίσκομαι
17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.111–12

νὰ ἔρθει εἰς τέρμενο μέρες τρεῖς ἐρχόμενες νὰ τὰ ἐμολογήσῃ, ὃ νὰ τὰ φέρουσι στὸν
τόπο τῶς 1664, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 7, 417.16–17

ἀνίσως καὶ λάβῃ τὰ ἄνωθεν γρόσα καλά, ὅβερ καὶ τὰ ἄνωθεν γρόσα δὲν λάβῃ
1686, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 8, 21.6–7

NOTE

- (i) In examples where the first clause contains an imperative and the second an indicative verb, such as the *Katzourbos* example above (ἄσ' τα αὐτὰ τὰ φαγητὰ καὶ δὲς νὰ μοῦ βοηθήσῃς, γῆ ἀποθαμένος βρίσκομαι), the disjunctive element implies “if you don't (do as I ask)”, and may often be translated “or else”.

Negative

ὁμνέω ... ὅτι νὰ μὴν δὲν ἔχετε κανέναν φόβον ... μήτε ἐκκλησίας νὰ χαλάσωμεν, μήτε
μασγίδι νὰ ποιήσωμεν 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.17–22

νά μή μπορῇ νά τῶνε πάρη περισσότερο ἀπού τὰ κζ' μουζούρια τὸ στάρι ὁ ἀνωθεν ἀφέντης Νικολός, οὐδὲ κείνος (νά [μή] μπορῇ νά τῶνε πάρη περισσότερο) οὐδὲ τὰ παιδία του (νά [μή] μποροῦν νά τῶνε πάρουν περισσότερο)

1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 5, 28.10–12

εἰ μὲν ... καὶ ἀποθάνην τὸ παιδί ... καὶ μείνῃ ἀκληρῇ, νά μὴν ἡμπορεῖ ἀπὸ τὴν πουργὴν ... μήτε νά πουλήσῃν, μήτε νά χαρίσῃν, μήτε νά πουργοδοτήσῃν, μήτε διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς νά κάμῃ [παρὰ μόνον δύο πρόθεσες νά δώνῃ διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς]

1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARARA et al. 1982/83: 31, 180.14–21

ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ εὐμορφία εἰς μίαν τιμημένην γυναῖκα εἶναι ὥσάν τὴν μακρινὴν φωτίαν ἢ ὥσάν ἓνα κοπτερόν σπαθί, ὅπου μήτε αὐτὸ κόπτει μήτε ἐκείνη καλεῖ ὅποιον δὲν πλησιάζει αὐτά

18th c., *Don Kis*. 91.25–8

τόσον ἐκαταπείσθη πῶς ἐκεῖνοι ἦτον γίγαντες, ὅπου οὔτε ἄκουε τὲς φωνὲς τοῦ ὀπλοφόρου του, μήτε τοὺς ἐγνώριζε, ἀγκαλὰ καὶ νά εἶχε πλησιάζει

18th c., *Don Kis*. 45.20–2

7.1.3 Other Constituents

(88) Sub-clausal constituents of all kinds may be coordinated in similar ways, provided that the elements involved are of the same syntactic category.

With predicative expressions (e.g. after the verb “to be”), however, it is not necessary for the coordinated elements to be categorically identical; the functional equivalence is sufficient.

As noted above, it may be difficult to decide in particular cases whether we are dealing with true constituent coordination or coordination of clauses with ellipsis in the second conjunct.

Additive ((καὶ ...) καὶ ... “(both ...) and ...”)

NP Coordination

οὐκ ἡμπορῶ ἀπόκρισιν νά ποιήσω ἄνευ [βουλήs] καὶ [θέλημα τοῦ ἀφέντου μου τοῦ ρῆγα], ὅπου ἔχω [ἀφέντην] καὶ [γαβρόν]

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 243–5

ὀρκῶ ... [ἔσεν] κι [ὅσοι καθέζονται μετὰ σέ ἐδῶ εἰς τὴν κούρτην], τὸ δίκαιον τῆς

ἀρχόντισσας ... νά τὸ κρατήσετε καλὰ

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7543–6

ἐγεννήθηκεν ἀπὸ μίαν παρθένον ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅποιος ἔναι αὐθέντης [τοῦ

οὐρανοῦ] καὶ [τῆς γῆς] καὶ [τῆς θαλάσσης] καὶ [πάσης κτίσεως]

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.1–3

VP Coordination

[κούρση ἡπῆρασιν πολλά], [ἐπίασαν καὶ ἀνθρώπους], κ' [ἔστράφησαν ἐσώθησαν εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν Μαύραν]

15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 166–7

[πέψε φέρε ἀπὸ τοὺς φίλους σου καὶ ἀπὲ τὴν πίστιν σου καλοὺς καβαλλάρους ψουμάτους] καὶ [ποῖσε ἀβιτζιάλιδες]

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.24–5

AdjP Coordination

ὥς ἦτον [μέγας] κ' [εὐγενής] κ' εἶχε πολὺ λογάριν

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8072

τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῇ ιδ' μαρτίου ατοδ' Χριστοῦ ... οἱ [ἐντιμότετοι] καὶ [φρονιμότετοι] ἀνθρώποι ... ἦλθαν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ρηγός

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 504.40–506.4

PP Coordination

ὀρκῶ σε [κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ] κ' [εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπάνω] ... τὸ δίκαιον τῆς

ἀρχόντισσας ... νά τὸ κρατήσετε καλὰ

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7543–6

μοίρασε τὸ ρηγάτον σου [εἰς αὐτόν σου] καὶ [εἰς αὐτόν τους]

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.26

Coordination of Predicative Expressions

ῶμοσε ὁ μπάιλος ... καὶ τότε οἱ λῆζιοι ἀνθρώποι, νά εἶναι [δοῦλοι] καὶ [πιστοὶ ...]

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7930–1

NOTES

(i) The AG combination ... τε καὶ ... “both ... and ...” is confined almost entirely to the poetic formula/cliché μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι “young and old”:

βουλὴν ἀπῆραν ἐνομοῦ μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 906

(ii) The content of an expression may be rendered more precise by appending a “both-and” specification, cf. “the human beings, both men and women”; this is common in legal texts, where the relevant meaning is often expressed in the form ἔτσι/τόσον (καὶ) ..., ὥσάν καὶ ... “just as ..., so also ...”:

καὶ ἀνὶ φυτέψῃ καὶ ἄλλα νά κάνου καρπὸ, [ἔτσι ἀπὸ τὰ παλιὰ] [ὥσάν καὶ τὰ νιά], νά παίρνῃ <ὁ> ἀφεντότοπος τὰ μισὰ καὶ ὁ κοπιαστής τὰ ἄλλα μισὰ, [ἔτσι καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ ἀμπέλι] [ὥσάν καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ χωράφι]

1596, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 154, 279.10–13

ξεκαθαρίζοντας ἀκομὴ ἂν εἶναι καὶ κιανένα καιρὸ δὲν τοῦ θέλασι δώσει τὸ στάρι,

νά μπορῇ, ἂ δὲν εὖρῃ ἄλλο τίβοτας νά πλερωθῇ, νά πιάνῃ τὰ ὀζά τῶνε, [ἔτσι

χοντρά] [ὥσάν καὶ λιανά] 1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 5, 28.14–16

ὅποιος ἤθελεν ἀλληλοῦσῃ ἀπού τσί δύο, τόσον ὁ ἓνας ὥσάν καὶ τὸν ἄλλο, νά μπορῇ νά δίδῃ τοῦ ἄλλου ὑπέρπυρα ρ'

1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 8, 30.11–12

If a negative meaning is required, οὔτε/μήτε ... οὔτε/μήτε ... “neither ... nor ...” are used, with some fluctuation between initial οὐ- and μή- (see under *Disjunctive constituent coordination (negative)* below):

ἦτον μέλας, ἦγουν μελαψός, μήτε [τόσον μαῦρος] μήτε [τόσον ἄσπρος]

16th c., *Vios Aisop.* K 147.10

τώρα δὲν εὐρίσκομαι νά ἔχω τίβοτις, μήτε σολδία, μήτε ροῦχα

1643, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1960: 3, 3.10

- (iii) When the sense is clearly negative-additive ("and not") οὐδέ/μηδέ are normally used, though there are overlaps with οὔτε/μήτε "nor" (cf. NOTE (iv) above and *Disjunctive constituent coordination* (negative) below):

ἤξευρε, ἀθλία, ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς μας δὲν ἀπέθανεν οὐδὲ ἀφανίσθη οὐδὲ ἐσάπη εἰς τὸν τάφον
16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 106.31–2

- (iv) Constituent coordination, like clausal coordination, may be asyndetic:

[ἔδραμεν] [ἐκούρσευσεν χωρία καὶ κατοῦνες διὰ θαλάσσου καὶ ξηρᾶς] ... κ'
[ἔστράφησαν] [ἔσώθησαν εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν Μαύραν] 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 163–7
[πέψε] [φέρει] ἀπὸ τοὺς φίλους σου καὶ ἀπὲ τὴν πίστιν σου καλοὺς καβαλλάρους
ψουμάτους 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.24–5
νὰ εἶναι ὁ ἄνωθεν κυρ-Τζανῆς ... νοικοκύρης εἰς τὰ ἄνωθεν πράματα, [πουλεῖν],
[χαρίζειν], [προικίζειν], [ποιεῖν ὡς βούλεται]
1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 211, 216.18

Adversative

This is expressed by ἀλλά/ἀμ(μ)ή/μά etc.:

ἀρνεῖσαι τὸν Χριστὸν μὰ ὅχι τὴν μητέρα του 17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 165.14
ἐκηρύττασιν ὅχι μὲ φόβον τινὰν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀμὴ μὲ μέγαλον θάρρος καὶ
παρησίαν 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 32.10–11

Disjunctive

Positive

Positive disjunctive constituent coordination is expressed by (εἴτε ...) εἴτε ... / (ἢ ...) ἢ ...
“(either ...) or ...” (also οὐ in Cyprus, γή/δ in Crete etc.):

ἔμην ποτὲ οὐκ ἐπήντησε στρατηγὸς ἢ τοπάρχης 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 149
περὶ τοῦ δούλου οὐ τῆς δούλης ὅπου φέρνει τὸν αὐθέντην του εἰς ἀγκάλεμαν, τίντα
ἐμπαίνει νὰ δώσῃ 16th c./13th c., Cyprus, *Assizes A* 5.1–2
τίς νὰ πιστέψῃ εἰς Ρωμαῖον εἰς λόγον εἴτε εἰς ὄρκον; 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 758
μνηοῦμε σας ὅτι ... μηδὲν σουφριάσετε κανένα μας ὀφισιάλην ... νὰ τρεμεντιαστῇ εἰς
καμία ἀγορὰ σιταρίου, οὐ κριθαρίου, οὐ κρασίου οὐ καμίας ἄλλης ρέντας
1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 7, 7.1–4
κι' ἂ δῆς τὴν Πουλισένα γῆ τὴν Ἀννούσα, πὲς τοὺς το νὰ σοῦ τὸ ποῦν ἐσένα
17th c./16th c., CHORTATZIS, *Katz.* III.147–8
νὰ μὴν ἔχῃ ἐξουσίαν ποτὲ καιροῖς κανέναν, ἢ ἀπὸ τὴν μεγάλην Μέσην ἢ ἀπὸ
μοναστήρι, νὰ τοὺς ἐνοχλήσῃ 1661, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 71, 200.13–14
ἐγὼν δὲ θέλω ἀφήσων κανέναν νὰ σιμώσῃν εἰσὲ ἁλῶνι τῆς ἢ σὲ πατητήριν τῆς
1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.12–13

Negative

In negative contexts οὔτε/μήτε ... οὔτε/μήτε ... “neither ... nor ...” are used, with fluctuation between initial οὐ- and μή-; the final οὔτε/μήτε of a series may be supported by ἀλλά (i.e. with disjunctive rather than strictly adversative meaning), or be replaced by οὐδέ/μηδέ in the emphatic sense of “not/nor even”:

ὅτι ὅποιον κάστρο καὶ χώρα προσκυνήσῃ μὲ τὸ καλόν, νὰ μηδὲν ἔχῃ [κανέναν
φόβον], οὔτε [κακόν], οὔτε [κουρσεμόν], ἀλλ' οὔτε [κανέναν χαλασμόν]
1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.10–12
ὁμνέω σας ... ὅτι νὰ μὴν δὲν ἔχετε [κανέναν φόβον], μήτε [αἰχμαλωτισμόν], μήτε
[πιασμόν παιδίων] 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.17–21
δὲν εἶχε μήτε στρουμέντο μηδὲ στιμαριστᾶδες 1657, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 4, 51.11

7.2 Apposition

7.2.1 Appositive Clauses

- (89) An appositive clause may be used to expand/clarify the content of a NP headed by an abstract noun with a non-specific but potentially propositional denotation, cf. “the news/the theory/the fact [that ...]”.

Unlike relative clauses, appositives are not descriptive of their antecedents but stand in an equative relationship with them, i.e. the content of the clause *is* the news/the theory/the fact etc.; their presence is justified to the extent that they add contextually relevant detail to a largely uninformative expression.

A common variant is the use of a cataphoric pronominal in place of the abstract noun, cf. “I will tell you this (sc. news etc.), that ...”

A range of clause types is attested, largely reflecting the semantics of the antecedent (e.g. factive vs. non-factive, statement vs. question etc.), and καὶ is sometimes substituted as the linking element. It is often impossible to distinguish what are in principle optional appositives (pragmatically helpful in particular contexts) from complement clauses (semantically presupposed by the antecedent even if not overtly represented). In the examples below, the “namely”-relation characteristic of appositives is reflected in the use of a comma after the head noun, though this is really no more than editorial interpretation (cf. 2.2 and 5.2.3 for further discussion, and see 5.2.3 for parallel examples treated as complements).

τὸν δὲ πατριάρχην ἔγραψεν αὐστηρὰς γραφὰς, ἀναδιδάσκων τὸ δίκαιον, ὅτι [οὐκ
ἔστιν ὁ ἀποστολικὸς θρόνος Ἀντιοχείας ὑπὸ τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως]
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 31 822.33–5
τί τοῦτο, ὅτι [ἐπαινῶ τοὺς χειροτεχνάρους] 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 188
ὁ λουτριάρης, ἔστοντας νὰ ἰδεῖ ἐτοῦτο, ὅτι [κακὸν ἦτον τοῦτο τὸ πάθος], ἔκλειεν
αὐτόν 16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 116.13–14
τοῦτον ἦτον ἡ ἀφορμή, καὶ [ὁργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐππεσεν ἀπάνω τους]
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 16.12–13

- ἐθαύμασεν ὁ Δάριος σ' Ἀλέξανδρου τὴν γνῶσιν, ποῦ [τὸν ἐβάσταξε καρδιά σ' ἀποκοτιά τὴν τόσῃν] 16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 1191–2
- τοῦτο ἦτονε μέγα θαῦμα περισσότερον παρὰ ὅλα, ὅπου [ἡ κιβωτὸς ... ἦτονε τότες εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παλαιὰ καὶ χαλασμένη] 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 333.27–28, 31–2
- ἔκαμεν ὄρκον, ὅτι [ἡ παραίτησις στανικῶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο] καὶ ὅτι [... εἶδῃσιν δὲν ἤξευρε] 16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 178–80
- τί νὰ λέγω τὰ πολλὰ ὅπου δὲν κάμνουν χρεῖα, ποῦ [ἡ γῆς ἐπορφυρώθηκεν ἐκ τὰ πολλὰ κορμιά;] 17th c., *DIAGR., Diig. Pol.* 283–4

7.2.2 Appositive NPs

- (90) One NP (the appositive) may be juxtaposed to a preceding NP (the antecedent) to form a construction in which the second modifies the first; the two NPs agree in case and have the same referent.

Non-restrictive Apposition

If the appositive element has a non-restrictive function, it functions much like a non-restrictive relative clause (see 5.3.3, Rule (79)), and may be understood according to context as ascribing an ancillary property to the antecedent (i.e. as descriptive: “NP, [who is also/incidentally] a/the X”), or as clarifying the identity of the referent (i.e. as epexegetic: “NP, [namely/specifically] a/the X”); in many cases either reading is possible. The antecedent and the appositive may, independently of one another, be either definite or indefinite:

- ἔτεκαν παῖδα θαυμαστὸν, τὸν Διγενὴν Ἀκρίτην 15th c./12th c., *Dig. E* 219
- βαρρῶν ὅτι ἄλλον δευτέρου πατέρα νὰ γνωρίσῃ, τὸν μέγαν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ πενθερόν ἐσέναν ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit. f.8v.17–20*
- ἐπεὶ ἐπαρεκάλεσα τὸν παναγιώτατον ἡμῶν δεσπότην, τὸν οἰκουμενικὸν πατριάρχην 1357/60, Constantinople, *KODER et al.* 2001: 237, 364–365.1–3
- εἰς ἄρχων ἔστειλε τὸν δοῦλον του, νὰ τὸν ἀγοράσῃ πουλιὰ γενεὴς τρεῖς, περιστέρια, τρυγόνια καὶ σπουργίτες post 1427, Unknown, *HUNGER/VOGEL* 1963: 53, 44.1–2
- ἐγὼ σοῦ ἔφερα δύο μάμμες, τὴν Σαλώμην καὶ τὴν Γελώμην, καὶ στέκουν ἔξω 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 329.27–8
- ὅσοι ... ἐπιθυμοῦσι νὰ γένουν πατέρες ἐνδόξων ... παιδίων, συμβουλεύσει τοὺς ἠθελα νὰ μὴ συμμίσουν μὲ ὅποιαν τύχῃ γυναῖκα, πόρνην λέγω, πολιτικὴν ἢ παλλακὴν 16th c., *SOFIANOS, Paidag.* 95.9–11
- ἐπειδὴ ἡ ὀσιότατη μοναχὴ κερα Μακαρία Κουκάκαινα, ἡ ἡγουμένη καὶ οἰκοκυρά τοῦ μοναστηρίου τοῦ μεγάλου Γεωργίου τοῦ Κερατιδιώτου, εὐρίσκεται ἀχαμνὰ 1596, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 1, 164.2–4
- ἀμὴ εἶχεν ἕναν τίποτες ὅπου τοῦ ἔκοπτε τὴν χαρὰν καὶ εὐφροσύνην, τὸ κακὸν τῆς ἀπαιδίας 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 31.35–8

- ρίχνοντας ἀπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸ φωτιὲς καὶ ἀστροπελέκια, ποῦ νὰ σὲ κατακάψουνε μαζί μὲ τὴν παλλακὴν, τὴν μιαιρότατην τοῦ Σατανᾶ φιλενάδα 18th c., *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 26.7–10

Restrictive Apposition

A restrictive appositive NP is similar in function to a restrictive relative clause (see 5.3.3, Rule (78)). But when a definite antecedent is modified in this way, the appositive too must be definite (cf. *my brother *a/the doctor*), i.e. its specific purpose is to identify the intended member of the already definite set of individuals potentially denoted by the antecedent (e.g. “my brother who is the doctor, not the one who is the lawyer” etc.). Accordingly, the definite article is normally used in both parts of this construction in LMedG/EMG, though it is sometimes omitted with proper names (see 5.3.2 for further discussion).

By contrast, indefinite restrictive apposition requires a predicative reading of the appositive, of the type “[an X] [(who is (a)) Y]”; NPs in predicative function standardly appear without an indefinite article (see 5.3.2, Rule (76) NOTE (i)).

Definite

- ἔχω καὶ αὐτὸ ἀγορὰν ἀπὸ τὸν Θεόδωρον τὸν Καλημέρην καὶ τὴν νύφην αὐτοῦ τὴν Μαρίαν ca. 1270, Athos, *BOMPAIRE* 1964: 9A, 80.27–8
- καὶ νὰ ἴδωσιν τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς ἀποκρισιάρχους 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 46
- ἐχαρίσαμε τοῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ τσαμπερλάνου τοῦ δουλευτῆ μας τὸ κοπέλι 1468, Nicosia, *RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS* 1983: 72, 36.1
- καὶ φημιλικῶς εὐρισκομένων εἰς κάστρον ἐν τῶν ἐκεῖσε κεφαλατεύοντες ὁ γαμβρός μου Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαιολόγος ὁ Μαμωνᾶς ... ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ μου καὶ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ παιδὶν ἐν αὐτῶν θῆλυ 15th c., *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 12.2–4
- χρωστᾷ μου ἡ κυρά Ἀγγελῶ ἡ κονιάδα μου ἡ Κοτομανόλαινα δουκάτα ἐφθά (= ἐφτά) 1637, Ithaca, *ZAPANDI* 2002b: 91, 96.44–5

Indefinite

- Ἰανουάριος ἦτον ἀπ' αὐτὸν νὰ στήκεται καὶ ἐκεῖνος, ἄνθρωπος ὁλος κυνηγός, ὁλος θαρσὺς τὸ σχῆμα 14th–15th c./13th c., *Liv. α* 1179–80
- εἶχαμεν φίλον κηπουρὸν καὶ διδάμην τοῦ γέννημαν καὶ ἔδιδέν μας λάχανα 16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 10
- καὶ ἂν μὲ ᾔδῃ ὅτι νὰ μιλήσω, γραῖαν γυναῖκα νὰ ἀγαπήσω, λέγει 16th c., *Epain. gyn.* 469–71

NOTES

- (i) A special form of restrictive apposition occurs when the antecedent identifies a conventional measure, or a container serving as a measure, and the appositive specifies the material or substance that is “measured” or “contained”. In LMedG/EMG this construction has largely supplanted the common AG use of a partitive genitive, though there are a handful of early examples in the corpus, e.g. σίτου μόδια ἔξ *Vios Philaret.* 287 (11th c./9th c.):

Definite

- ἔδωκέ του τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὰ σεντούκια καὶ τὰ σακκία τὸν σιναπόσπορον
16th c./15th c., *Diig. Alex.* V 41.10–11
- εἶδε τὰ ἄλλα δυὸ βαρέλια τοὺς ψαρογαύρους ἔδωκες ἀπὸ καιρὸν ἐμπίστως ἐνὸς
Σφακιώτη 1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 255, 253.10–11
- νὰ μὴ μπορῇ νὰ τῶνε πάρη περισσότερο ἀπὸ τὰ κζ' μουζούρια τὸ στᾶρι ὁ
ἄνωθεν ἀφέντης Νικολός 1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 5, 28.10–11
- ῥηγουν νὰ τοὺς ἀνακατογυρίσουν ἐκεῖνα τὰ βαρέλια τὰ σῦκα
17th c., *Bertoldin.* 114.30–1

Indefinite

- ἂν γένῃ κτύπος πούποτε, μόδιν ἀγγέλους βλέπεις
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 149
- ὁποῦ ἐπούλησε τοὺς ἄνωθε Τρουγιανάδες ἓνα κομμάτι χωράφι
1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 159, 100.4–5
- ἔσοντας νὰ ἔκαμα μία μιργιά κερὶ 1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 4, 60.1

- (ii) Multi-part proper names also constitute a special case in that, though they too are regularly treated as combinations of antecedent and appositive (with the referential range of the first name restricted by what follows), they can also be analysed as forming a single NP. When definiteness is overtly marked, the former option normally requires a separate article in each element of the name:

- ἔχω καὶ αὐτὸ ἀγορὰν ἀπὸ τὸν Θεόδωρον τὸν Καλημέρη καὶ τὴν νύφην αὐτοῦ
τὴν Μαρίαν ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.27–8
- ἐρμάσαν τὴν μετὸν ἀφέντην τὸν Μανουὴλ τὸν Κατακουζηνόν, τὸν δεσπότην τοῦ
Μορέως 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 58.33–4

while the latter option requires only a single article to determine the name as a whole:

- ἔτεκαν παῖδα θαυμαστὸν, τὸν Διγενὴν Ἀκρίτην 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 219
- ἀπὸ κεῖ ἔστειλε ᾗ τὸν Ἰωάννη βασιλέα Παλαιολόγο ὅτι ...
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.11

- (iii) Titles too may be treated either as referring expressions in their own right with the following name(s)/description(s) in apposition, or simply as part of the following name(s).

The appositive structure is more usual, and is regularly employed when the second element is further modified; the article is occasionally omitted from the antecedent/title:

- ὦρα δ' τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκοιμήθη ὁ αὐθέντης ὁ κύρ ὁ κούντης ὁ σιρ Τούμας τὲ Μόρφ
1388, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 101, 99.1–3
- ἔξέβη ἀμιράλλ(ης) ὁ σιρ Πιέρ ντὲ Καφρά ἀπὲ τὴν Λευκωσίαν νὰ πάγῃ στὴν
Γένουβα διὰ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀφέντη μας τοῦ ρηγὸς τοῦ ρὲ Τζάκ
1390, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 11, 89.1–3
- μετὸν μακαρίτην τὸν αὐθέντην τὸν πατέρα τους ἐσυντύχαμεν περὶ τούτου
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.11–12

The second option often involves titles with a colloquial quality, though this does not preclude their use in official documents; the article is sometimes omitted (as with names in general):

- μισίρ Ντζεφρές, ὡς φρόνιμος, παρηγορᾷ τὸν κόντον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 177
- ὁ μισίρ Ντζεφρές, ὡς φρόνιμος δπου ἦτον, ἄρχισε νὰ τὸν παρηγορᾷ
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 188–9
- ἐν μηνὶ αὐγούστῳ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἡ δέσποινα κυρὰ Ἄννα
15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 12.22
- ἐρωτήσαμεν παπὰ κύρ Γαβρήλ 1528, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 53, 173.47
- ὁ κύρ Χατζῆς πεθερός μου σοῦ ἄφησε χρόνια εἰς τὴν Καβάγια
1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 6, 213.10–11

8 Constituent Order

8.1 General Principles

As a matter of grammatical rule, it is assumed here that sentences in LMedG/EMG comprise a subject NP and a predicate VP in that order. But the *actual* order of constituents in a given sentence is to a large extent determined by the way in which a writer organizes and presents the information contained within it in order to articulate the structure of the larger discourse. In practice, therefore, once the fundamental syntactico-semantic requirements are met (i.e. through the presence of a subject, expressed or understood, and a predicate, optionally in combination with one or more adjuncts), the linear sequencing of constituents is largely controlled by considerations of “topic” and “focus”.

These concepts have been defined in a variety of ways, making reference to prosodic, pragmatic, semantic and/or syntactic factors. Constituents in LMedG/EMG clauses could almost certainly be marked as topical or focal simply by the choice of appropriate prosodic properties. But these factors are no longer accessible to us, though plausible inferences might be made from MG, e.g. that foci were assigned a high level of stress. Topics and foci are therefore identified here by virtue of their *syntactic* prominence, i.e. relocation to positions specifically associated with discourse functions (see below). Functionally, topics establish or re-establish a “theme” (something familiar from the preceding discourse, mutual knowledge or general cultural awareness), which is then commented on by the remainder of the following sentence. Foci, by contrast, identify the most salient, i.e. emphatic or contrastive, piece of information within a particular sentence. When both elements are present, the focus identifies the most salient information within the comment on the topic, thus making a topicalized element structurally more peripheral than a focalized one, cf. [_{TOP} *in Medieval Greek*], [_{FOC} *it's the syntax*] *people find hardest*.

Positions at the left periphery of LMedG/EMG phrases and clauses are structurally prominent and may attract phrasal topics and foci; in clauses there is also a topic position beyond the clause boundary (see Rule (91)). The *informationally* most neutral order of constituents in LMedG/EMG sentences with overt subjects is perhaps V(erb) S(ubject) O(bject(s)), where the fronting of the verb over the subject indicates that the sentence introduces a proposition in which none of its phrasal constituents is given any special prominence (= “something happened”: though V may be understood focally if appropriately stressed):

(ἐν τούτῳ) ἐπαράλαβεν ὁ Ροῦσος τὸ μπαίλατο

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7933

But it is often more natural to identify specific elements as providing some form of linkage to, or contrast with, the previous discourse: [VO]S order, for example, is the result of either topicalizing or focalizing the Verb Phrase by preposing it to the beginning of the

sentence, making the subject correspondingly either salient (“[_{TOP} the one who VO] was S”) or thematic (“[_{FOC} it was VO] that S did”) according to the demands of the context. In the following, for example, the preposed VP is topical, and the subject correspondingly salient:

ὁ βασιλέας τὸν ἔστειλεν ... τὸν τόπον ὅλον τοῦ Μορέως νὰ τὸν ἔχη κερδίσει, κι ἂν μάθῃ ὅτι [ἐκέρδισαν τὸν πόλεμον] οἱ Φράγκοι ... πῶς νὰ τὸν ἀποδέξεται ... ;

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4894–8

Since, however, the grammatically determined order of constituents is Subject + Predicate, with subjects standing preverbally prior to any informationally-driven reordering, it may be unclear in specific cases whether actual “preposing” of the subject has taken place when it is interpreted as topical or focal in context.

Whenever a phrase of any type (represented as XP below) is focalized, the verb is standardly “attracted” to it and the subject (if not itself the focalized item) appears postverbally, giving XP-V-S (cf. “*never* have~I seen ...”). There is also attraction of the verb to preposed interrogative and relative adverbs or pronouns (cf. “*what* have~you done?”, cf. 1.4.1 and 5.3.3) and, in subordinate clauses, to many conjunctions and complementizers (subject to various conditions and limitations, see below and cf. Chapters 2 and 3). Attraction of the verb is not required, however, in the case of topics.

8.1.1 Topicalization

(91) **Topicality in MedG/EMG may be marked by “left-dislocation”, i.e. by placing a topic in a position beyond the left periphery of a clause and marking its lack of structural integration with a pause, usually represented graphically by a comma; when the topic is nominal, a referentially resumptive pronoun is normal in the following clause.**

Left-dislocated topics are typically used to establish or re-establish an entity as the current discourse theme and to initiate discussion of it. They may be thought of in terms of the schema [XP]_i, [_S ... (*pro*) ...], where *pro* is an element anaphoric to the left-dislocated XP, expressing the “aboutness” link between the two elements. In the case of non-NP topics *pro* is usually null, but with NP topics it usually takes the form of a “resumptive” pronoun, e.g. (*as for*) *Medieval Greek*, *I really like (it)*. With the passage of time, clitic pronouns become increasingly standard in this construction, and are inflected according to their grammatical function in the clause (usually direct or indirect object); but demonstratives are also used, and in the absence of suitable nominative clitics, topicalized subjects are often “resumed” in this way.

Left-dislocated NPs typically reflect the properties of *pro* in (person), number, gender and case, though they are also sometimes inflected in the nominative instead (*nominativus pendens*), perhaps in recognition of their “external”, subject-like status with respect to the following comment. Verbs are not attracted grammatically to left-dislocated topics, and adjacency of the verb in these structures is pragmatically motivated.

τὰ ὄντα φανερά καὶ μὴ ἔχοντα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τινὸς οἰανδήποτε ἀντιλογίαν, ἐκεῖνα καὶ λέγω καὶ γράφω ἀφόβως μετὰ πληροφορίας

12th c./11th c., *Nikon, Logos* 9 314.18–19

- ἡ πίστις ἡ ἀληθινή, οἱ Χριστιανοὶ τὴν ἔχουν 15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 553
 μίαν ἀπὸ τὰς πρόκριτας εἰς ἣν ἐθάρρει πλέον, παρήγγειλεν [πρὸ] ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς
 ὄλους νὰ προλάβει 712th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.3r.9–11
 ἡ παρθένος Μαρία τε Λουζουνία κόρη τοῦ κυροῦ τοῦ Στύρου, ἐρμάσαν τὴν μετὸν
 ἀφέντην τὸν Μανουήλ 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 58.32–3
 ὁ,τι ἄρχισε, ἐμένα ποτὲ δὲ μοῦ τὸ ἐμολόγησε! 16th c., *Nov.* I 156.21
 ἔνας δὲ ἀπὸ τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ βασιλέως, ... ἐτοῦτος ... παρευθὺς ἀπαντονάρισεν
 ὄλες τὲς πρόσκαιρες δόξες 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 33.2–7
 σ' ἴντα στάτο εὐρίσκεται, κιανεὶς δὲν τὸ γνωρίζει 18th c./16th–17th c., *KORNAROS, Erot.* III.34

(92) “Simple topics” are attached to the left periphery of a clause or VP and are relatively brief expressions (usually single phrases) that allow no pause before the following comment; clitic pronouns are obligatory with accusative or genitive NP topics (resulting in “clitic doubling”), which distinguishes the construction clearly from focalization (see Rule (93)).

Such non-dislocated topics are typically used to establish or re-establish an already “active” participant as the central theme of the discourse (they are therefore normally definite and may contrast with what precedes), and then to continue or resume discussion of it. Unlike left-dislocated topics, they are structurally integrated phrases at the left periphery of S or VP; for the latter, consider the following example, where the subject ὁ θεός precedes the topic:

- ὁ θεός [TOP τὴν καρδίαν σου] [VP νὰ τὴν πλατύνῃ], καὶ [TOP τὴν χώραν σου] [VP εἰς
 τὸ ἐν ἑκατὸν νὰ τὴν ποιήσῃ], καὶ [TOP τὸ σπαθὶν σου] [VP εἰς τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου
 φοβερόν νὰ τὸ ποιήσῃ]. 1349, Egypt, SCHOPEN/NIEBUHR 1832: IV.14, 98.22–4

Agreement of the topic with the clitic in case (as well as number and gender) is normal, though not quite a requirement, as “hanging nominatives” are occasionally attested in more colloquial texts (unless these are better treated as cases of left-dislocation). Attraction of the verb to a topic at the clause periphery is not grammatically required and adjacency in such cases is again a purely pragmatic matter.

- ὁ βασιλέας τὸν ἔστελνεν ... [τὸν τόπον ὅλον τοῦ Μορέως] νὰ τὸν ἔχη κερδίσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4894–5
 εἰ μὲν συμβῇ [ὁ ἀφέντης του] ὁ ἐχθρός του νὰ τὸν πιάσῃ ... νὰ τὸν ζητήσῃ ὁ ἀφέντης
 του καὶ νὰ τὸν ἀνακράξῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7572–4
 [τὰ ἀλλάγια ταῦτα] ποῖσε τὰ 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 6906
 Ὀδυσσεὺς ὁ θαυμαστός μετὰ τοὺς Ἀχαῖτας [τοὺς Τρῶας] ἐτροπεύσαν τους, ἐδιῶξαν
 τους, ὑπάγουν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 3911–12
 ὁ σὶρ Σιμούν τε Μουντολιφ ὁ καβαλλάρης [τὸν κύρην τῆς Τύρου] ἐσφάξεν τὸν εἰς τὴν
 ἀναπάν 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 58.25–7
 ὁ πόθος τῆς φιλαργυρίας ἀναγκάζει τους νὰ γυρεύουν καθημερινόν τὲς ἀφορμὲς [τὸν
 πλοῦτόν τους] πῶς νὰ τὸν αὐξάνουσιν 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 7–9

NOTES

- (i) Maintenance, or sometimes reduction, of the thematic salience of an entity may also be effected by “clitic doubling”, again without a pause between the NP object and the clitic–verb combination, but in this case the object (always definite) remains in place to the right of V within VP:

- ἐδέσποζες το [τὸ βεργίν], καὶ μόνη σου νὰ τό 'χης 16th c./13th–14th c., *Velth.* 585
 κι οὐδὲν μᾶς ἄφηκες [ἐμᾶς] νὰ ἔχωμεν πολεμήσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5121
 ἐπῆραν καταπάνω τους, τροπεύουν τους [τοὺς Τρῶας] 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 3723
 καὶ ἂν μὲ πιστεύητε [ἐμὲν], ὅς ἐνι Ἀγαμέμνων 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 8469

- (ii) “Right dislocation” is closely related in function, with the difference that the intended referent of a potentially autonomous clitic pronoun is clarified by an appositional NP located beyond the right periphery of the clause, rather as an afterthought (cf. 7.2.2); such right-dislocated items were separated from what precedes by a slight pause, though this is not normally marked graphically; note in particular that the caesura typically precedes them in verse texts, and that parenthetical material (e.g. interjections) sometimes intervenes:

- ἀφῆνω, παρατρέχων τὰ / [τὰ τότε λαληθέντα] 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 3870
 ἀπόκρισιν τοὺς ἔδωκεν / [ἀμφοτέρων τῶν δύο] 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3402
 καὶ κονταρέαν τὸν ἔδωκεν, / αἰλί, [τὸν Μαργαρίτην] 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 6862
 καὶ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς τὴν ἔλεγεν / [τὴν ἡλιογεννημένην] 15th–16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 1356

8.1.2 Focalization

(93) Focalization may be effected by preposing a phrasal constituent to the left-peripheral position within a clause or phrase; clitic doubling is not allowed (see Rule (92)) and the verb is routinely attracted to the focal element.

Unlike simple topics, foci are contained within, rather than attached to, the associated phrase or clause; this guarantees that they will always stand within the scope of a topic if both items are present. Since they emphasize, contrast or correct (“XP is who/what/where/when [s ...]”), it may be assumed that the key element of a focalized phrase was assigned a higher level of stress than that of non-focalized elements.

In verse texts the frequency of focal preposing is very high, especially that of dependent genitives within NPs, and we must assume that in this specialized literary context the more “marked” construction was often understood as a more or less free variant of the basic one. Consider the following, very typical example:

- [[τοῦ κόσμου γὰρ] τὴν ἡδονὴν] ἠθέλαν κι ἀγαποῦσαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3171

In the context of a list of the Franks who built castles as a symbol of their new power, no necessary emphasis or contrast seems to be attached either to the head of the preposed object NP (τὴν ἡδονὴν) or to the preposed genitive NP within it (τοῦ κόσμου); the sentence

seems simply to give a reason why they built their castles: "(for) they wanted and adored the pleasure(s) of the world" (though perhaps they wanted their pleasures now rather than to take their chances in the afterlife). "Focalization" will continue to be used to describe the relevant syntactic phenomenon, but it should be borne in mind that in some contexts there may be no special informational salience.

Focalization in Clauses

- μη τολμήση ... μαρτυρήσειν ... ὅτι [εἰς τὸν κόσμον] ἐμολύνθην
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 31 812.31–2
- [τὸν δὲ πατριάρχην] ἔγραψεν αὐστηρὰς γραφὰς
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 31 822.33–4
- [τὸ ἀνωειρημένον προυκίον] δίδει ὁ ἀνωειρημένος κύρ Ἰωάννη Κουβαρὰς τῆς
ἐγκόνης του
1496, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 1, 48.23–4
- [μὲ ξύλα καὶ μὲ λιθάρια] ἐσκότωναν τὸ φουσάτον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου
16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 20.14 (Konstantinopulos)
- ἦτον ... ἄσχημος τόσον, ὅτι [καμίαν καλοσύνην ἢ ἰσότητά] δὲν εἶχεν τὸ κορμὶν του
16th c., *Vios Aisop.* K 147.7–8
- νά πάρη ὁ κύρ Μανόλης τὸ ἥμισον ..., καὶ [τὸ ἕτερον ἥμισον] νά πάρη ἡ λεγομένη
κερὰ Θεόκλητη
1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.23–4

Focalization in Phrases

- ἡμεῖς [_{VP} [οἰκείαις χερσὶν ἡμῶν] ἐδώκαμεν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἄχραντα εὐαγγέλια αὐτοῦ]
1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 208–9.20–1
- τὸν ἐκράτει ὁ βασιλέας [_{ADVP} [εἰς φυλακὴν του] ἀπέσω] 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7969
- ἀκομή καὶ [_{NP} [τῶν ντεμπιτόρων] τὰ δινέρια]
1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: Inv. 3, 287.48
- ἦτον ... [_{ADJP} [ἄσχημος] τόσον], ὅτι 16th c., *Vios Aisop.* K 147.7

8.2 Clitic Pronouns and the Verbal Complex

In general, clitics immediately follow the head that governs them:

- AdvP: πῶς ἤπλωσας ἐπάνω μου; 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 145
- NP: νά το, παιδί μου, ἀγόρασε χορδόκοιλα δουκάτον
15th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 117 app. crit. (P)
- AdjP: ὅμως νά δικολογηθῶ μὲ ὁμοίόν μου ζῶον 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 824

Verbs, however, show a more complex pattern of clitic distribution that requires reference to the notion of the "verbal complex" (VC), in which mood and negative markers, if present in a sentence, cliticize to the verbs they modify and form a structured unit that cannot normally be interrupted by other elements:

Mood Marker [ἴνα/νά, ἄς]	> Negative [μή(ν)]	> V _{subjunctive/past indicative}
	Negative [μή(ν)]	> V _{imperative}
	Negative [οὐ(κ), (οὐ)δέν]	> V _{indicative/gerund}

(The future marker $\theta\acute{\epsilon}$ + $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ > $\theta\acute{\alpha}$ is a late addition to LMedG/EMG (Chapter 1, Rule (6) NOTE (vii)), and is omitted.)

Indicatives, whether as lexical verbs or as auxiliaries, may take a $\iota\acute{\nu}\alpha/\nu\acute{\alpha}$ -complement (cf. $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega \iota\acute{\nu}\alpha/\nu\acute{\alpha}$ = "I want to X" or "I will/shall X": $\theta\acute{\epsilon} \nu\acute{\alpha}$ > $\theta\acute{\alpha}$ represents the formal reduction of such a structure); only one of the two verbs can then be negated, and in periphrases this can only be the auxiliary. Items other than V are present only when their contribution is required for semantic or syntactic reasons, and even the otherwise obligatory mood marker $\iota\acute{\nu}\alpha/\nu\acute{\alpha}$ is not required with $\mu\eta(\nu)$ in prohibitions containing subjunctives (1.3, Rule (14)) or with conjunctions like $(\acute{\epsilon})\acute{\alpha}\nu/\delta\tau\alpha\nu$ in generic/future-referring clauses containing subjunctive verbs (3.3.1 and 3.4.3). V is therefore often the initial, and indeed only, element in the VC of a given sentence.

As noted above, a preposed focal (FOC), interrogative (Q) or relative (REL) constituent regularly "attracts" the verb along with any associated items of the VC (leaving overt subjects in post-verbal position):

FOC/Q/REL +	[MM > $\mu\eta(\nu)$ > V] ... NP _{subj}
	[οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν > V] ... NP _{subj}

"Modal" conjunctions, i.e. those like $(\acute{\epsilon})\acute{\alpha}\nu/\delta\tau\alpha\nu$ that do not require the co-presence of $\iota\acute{\nu}\alpha/\nu\acute{\alpha}$ with subjunctive verb forms, also attract V in most cases. This began in generic/future-referring clauses containing subjunctive verbs, but more general attraction of V developed early with these conjunctions, even in past- or present-time contexts with non-modal verb forms. Later, non-modal conjunctions and complementizers such as $\delta\tau\iota$, $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ etc. started to follow the pattern, albeit more sporadically, with "traditional" $\delta\tau\iota$ showing significantly more resistance than "innovative" $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$.

Clitic pronouns intersect with the VC and constitute the one major exception to the rule that its components cannot be separated one from another.

(94) An object clitic stands immediately adjacent to the verb that governs it:

- if V is initial in VC and nothing precedes (i.e. within VP or S as appropriate), the clitic follows V;
- if V is initial in VC but other constituents precede (i.e. within VP or S as appropriate), the clitic precedes V;
- if V is non-initial in VC, the clitic precedes V.

The basic rule for most of the period covered by this Grammar is that clitics cannot stand before a verb in VP-initial or clause-initial position but may appear before a verb when something else precedes *them*, whether other elements of the VC or, when the VC comprises V alone, co-constituents of the relevant containing category.

This requirement is further shaped by the general principle that clitics standardly appear in "second position" in a containing phrase or clause, a principle ("Wackernagel's Law") that had continued into MedG from Antiquity. Since clitics must be adjacent to the verb, and since clitics normally stand in second position in a VP or clause, it follows that a VC containing only V will typically be either the first item in VP or S, with a following clitic, or the third item in VP or S, with a preceding clitic.

The position of a clitic vis-à-vis a verb that stands alone in its VC is therefore determined by what counts as a "preceding", i.e. effectively phrase- or clause-initial, constituent for the purposes of clitic placement:

- The set of left-peripheral constituents that routinely attract the verb, namely focal elements, question words/phrases, relative pronouns/complementizers and "modal" complementizers, are regularly counted as initial items for the purposes of clitic placement:

$[_{S/VP} X(P) \text{ cl}+V \dots]$

- Non-modal conjunctions and complementizers may be treated either as the initial elements of clauses (with attraction of V) or as elements that introduce clauses but are not themselves part of them (without attraction of V). The result is variation in the placement of the clitic with respect to V, though the clitic itself remains second in the clause in both cases; in general, traditional complementizers and conjunctions (C), e.g. $\delta\tau\iota$ vs. $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, $\epsilon\iota$ vs. $(\acute{\epsilon})\acute{\alpha}\nu$ etc., resist inclusion in the clause much more strongly:

C included: $[_s C [\text{cl}+V] \dots]$

C excluded: $C [_s [V+\text{cl}] \dots]$

- Subjects are regularly adjacent to the VC (the initial item in VP) but do not themselves attract the verb; in the absence of items that can attract it, V therefore remains in place as the head of VP or is fronted over the subject (see 8.1). In combination with a subject, a VC containing only V can satisfy the requirements of clitic placement in two ways: either V stands initially in VP and the clitic follows in second (phrasal) position, or the subject is counted as the first clausal constituent and the clitic precedes V in second (clausal) position:

Second position in VP: $[_s \text{NP}_{\text{SUBJ}} [_{VP} V+\text{cl}] \dots]$

Second position in clause: $[_s \text{NP}_{\text{SUBJ}} [_{VP} \text{cl}+V] \dots]$

- Standardly, simple topics are attached to the left periphery of S or VP and do not attract V. They do not therefore count as the initial elements of these categories, and clitics follow an initial V. From around the 16th c., however, simple topics also come to be treated as initial items, with the clitic then following before V; this development is again associated with attraction, which guarantees that the topic and its clitic double will be adjacent:

Topic attached: $[\text{NP}_{\text{TOP}} [_{S/VP} V+\text{cl}] \dots]$

Topic included: $[_{S/VP} \text{NP}_{\text{TOP}} \text{cl}+V \dots]$

- The least integrated elements of a sentence (such as left-dislocated topics and non-focal adverbial adjuncts, including adverbial clauses) do not normally attract V or count as initial elements for the purposes of clitic placement. The clause proper therefore begins with whatever comes after such items, and if this is V, the clitic then follows:

$\text{XP}_{\text{TOP}}/_{\text{ADVP}}/_{\text{S}_{\text{ADV}}} [_s V+\text{cl}] \dots]$

But "linking" adverbials (ADVP_L), i.e. those with demonstrative/anaphoric force or that denote a place, time, reason etc. that connects the sentence to the preceding discourse, begin to count as clause-initial and attract the verb quite early, with the clitic then preceding V; adverbial clauses (S_{ADV}) and left-dislocated topics (XP_{TOP}) start to be drawn into this pattern from around the 16th c.:

$[_s \text{XP}_{\text{TOP}}/_{\text{S}_{\text{ADV}}}/_{\text{ADVP}_L} \text{cl}+V \dots]$

Wherever a choice is available, the frequency of the preverbal option increases over time, albeit with some delay in southern and more peripheral regions; in Cyprus, however, the earlier medieval patterns of clitic placement are largely preserved even in the modern dialect. But both clitic positions remain in play in LMedG and the freedom is particularly valuable in verse texts, where it provides different metrical possibilities.

In SMG (and most modern dialects) pre-V position has been generalized with indicatives, even though this results in clause-initial/phrase-initial clitics. Such extension of the pre-verbal option must have begun in the early 16th c. with the progressive shift in the status of various elements that literally "began" sentences but had not previously counted as "initial" for the purposes of clitic placement. As these came to be included among the set of legitimate initial items, clitics then followed in "second position" before the verb. Consider, for example, sentences with left-dislocated, or perhaps simple, topics (the distinction may be hard to make when a topicalized phrase contains modifiers):

$\tau\acute{\alpha} \acute{\omicron}\sigma\pi\eta\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha \tau\eta\varsigma \tau\acute{\alpha} \pi\alpha\tau\rho\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha} (,) \tau\acute{\alpha} \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\mu\epsilon \mu\omicron\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu \gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$

1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 16.1–2

$\tau\acute{\omicron} \pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha \nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\omicron \tau\omicron\upsilon \text{Ναυπ}\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\omicron\upsilon (,) \tau\acute{\omicron} \acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\eta\sigma\epsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon} \tau\omicron \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron \sigma\pi\alpha\theta\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$

16th c., Constantinople, SCHREINER 1975/79: 63A, 484.10.1–3

Given the grammatical optionality of the material to their left, these clitics could now reasonably be seen as "initial" in their clauses, with initial pre-V position then quickly generalized to clauses without left-peripheral constituents. Early examples include:

$\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \delta\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon\nu \tau\omicron\nu \mu\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\nu \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\acute{\omicron} \tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \rho\epsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\upsilon \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha} \tau\acute{\alpha} \pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha \mu\alpha\kappa\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$

1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 35.10–11

$\sigma\acute{\epsilon} \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon \nu\acute{\alpha} \epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu \Phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\omicron\iota \lambda\acute{\iota}\mu\pi\epsilon\rho\omicron\iota$

1571, Mani, CHASIOTIS 1970: 6.1, 242.41–2

8.2.1 V Initial in VC

No Preceding Constituents: V+cl

- ἔγραψές με, περὶ τὰς ἐορτὰς ἵνα σε γράψω τὴν εἰδήσιν
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 4 212.29
- ὡς ὄρνειον πετάζεται, δοκοῦν τον ὅλα ὁμάλιν
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 129
- βλέπουν σε τὰ ψυχάρια μου καὶ ἔχουν σε ὡς αὐθέντην
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* 188
- νὰ σε δώσουν ἐκ τῆς γιστέρας τὸ νερόν, χρήζω το διὰ ἱατρείαν μου
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8211–12
- ὁρίζει γὰρ καὶ εἶπε τον
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4563
- ἐπῆρεν το ὁ ἔβδομος ἄνθρωπος post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 38, 34.4
- καὶ ψηλαφώντας την ἠβλέπει
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.35
- πρόβαλε, δῶσ' τῶνε τὸ φῶς, σὰν ἡσου μαθημένη
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.15

Focal, Interrogative or Relative Elements Preceding: (cl+V)

Focal

- τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον μοι εἶπαν καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι ἄρχοντες
1136?/1151?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 19, 419.5
- πολλὰ τὸν ἔχω εὐκαιρητὴν ἐκείνον τὸν γονέα ὅπου
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 208–9
- ὄρκον σε δίδω εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν δέσποιναν Θεοτόκον, ὅτι
1360, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 236, 362.18–20
- λεπτομερῶς τοῦ ἐμήνυσεν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7825
- τοῦ Βαλδουῆ τὸ ἐποικαν τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Πόλης
16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 1098
- τὴν χάριν σου μ' ἀπόστειλε ἐτούτην τὴν ἡμέρα
15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 2
- λέγοντες ... καὶ ὅτι τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν τοῦ ἐπαρέδωκε
16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 107–9

Interrogative

- κύρι, πῶς τὸ λέγεις;
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 44
- ποῖον ἱμάτιον μέ ἔρραψας; ποῖον δίμιτον μέ ἐποῖκες;
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 46
- πῶς νὰ εὕρω μ' ἐρμήνευσε τῆς Δυστυχίας τὸ κάστρο
14th c./13th–14th c., *Log. parig.* L 123
- ἐκάτζα καὶ ἐξηγήτην του ... πῶς τὴν ἐχαιρέτησα καὶ πῶς μέ ἀπηλογήθη
15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 3778–9
- καὶ ἄκου τὸ τί μοῦ ἐσύντυχεν
16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekt. Vas.* 28
- ἀπὸ ποῦ τοῦ ἦλθαν ἐτοῦτα ἐτουτουνού;
17th c., KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 6.2
- ποῖος τὸ κύτταξε τὸ σιδηρόσυρμα;
1696, Ochrid, MERTZIOS 1947a: 9, 214.11

Relative

- τὸ ράσον τὸ σὲ δίδουσιν καὶ ἐκεῖνο ψυχικόν ἐνι
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 472.1 app. crit. (H)
- σὲ παρακαλοῦν ... μὴ τὸ δεχτῆς εἰς βάρος σου ἐτοῦτο ὅπου σὲ λέγουν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7902–3
- τὸ ὠραιόκαρπον ὁ Θεὸς ὅπου σᾶς λέγει, δένδρον τὸ ὑψηλότατον ὅπου σᾶς εἶπε
φεύγειν, φάγε καὶ δὸς καὶ τοῦ Ἀδάμ
15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 69–71
- εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ... ἐσέβη ὁ Ματθίας ὅπου τοῦ ἔπεσεν ὁ κλῆρος
16th c., SANKTAM., *Praxeis apost.* 15.8–9
- ἀφήνει ... τὸ ἄρε τοῦ Κωσταντῆ τοῦ σπιτιοῦ, τοῦ ὁποῦ τοῦ τὸ εἶχεν δώσει ἡ
αὐτὴ προικίο
1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIΟΥ/DRAKAKIS 2010: 145, 115.9–11
- ἐβουλεύθη κακὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὅπου τὸν ἀνάθρεψεν
16th c., DIONYS., *Istor.* 252.13

NOTES

- (i) Imperatives normally follow the general rule, cf. δῶσ' τῶνε (CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.15) with τὴν χάριν σου μ' ἀπόστειλε (CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 2) above, but those with a preceding constituent occasionally retain the order V + cl:
μεγαλοψύχως δέξαι με
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* II 19.6 app. crit. (H)
- (ii) There are no examples in the database of gerunds with preverbal clitics as these always stand initially in their respective phrases/clauses.

“Modal” Conjunctions Preceding (both modal and non-modal verbs): cl+V

- ἐξ ἀρχῆς πολλὰ ἠντεστάτην, ὅταν τὸ ἤκουσα
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.5–6
- καὶ ἂν μ' εὕρης χρώμενον κακῶς εἰς ταῦτα τὰ με δίδεις, τότε καὶ κατονείδιζε
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* II 67–8
- ἂν μέ ἔποισαν τεχνίτην, ... νὰ ἔμαθα τέχνην κλαπωτὴν
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 89–91
- καὶ πρὶν τὸ πιάσω χάνεται καὶ φεύγει ἐκ τὸ σκουτέλλιν
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 242
- καὶ ἀπέκει, ὅταν τοὺς εἶπη ἐκεῖνος, νὰ σηκωθῶσιν
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.17–18
- ὅταν σὲ ταχθοῦν σιτάριν, τὸ σακί σου καὶ τρέχε
16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 53 app. crit.
- ἂν τὸν πάρη, θέλ' εἴσταιν ἀφορισμένη
16th c./15th c., VOUST., *Chron.* A 34.3–4

NOTE

- (i) The presence of καὶ with “modal” (and indeed other) conjunctions normally blocks attraction:
φοβούμενη μήπως καὶ καλέση τηνε ὁ Θεός
1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.5–6
- ἀνίσως καὶ βάλουν τα τὰ περισσότερα τορνέσα ἀπὸ 'κεῖνα ..., ὁμπλεγάρεται ...
νὰ τὰ δίδη τῶν ἀνωθεν πουλητάδω
1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 82, 99.10–11

"Non-modal" Conjunctions/Complementizers Preceding: V+cl and cl+V

V+cl

- ἔξω λέγεις ὅτι ἔχεις με παιδὶν 1360, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 236, 362.14–15
 κ' εἶπεν ὅτι ὠφελεῖ με 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8213
 ἀλλ' ὅτε εὗρουν σε μικρὸν πταίσιμον εἰς τὸ σπῖτι καὶ κλέψης τίποτα νὰ φᾶς
 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 220–1 app. crit. (C)
 ἔτοῦτο τὸ παρὸν ψαλτήριον ἐνι τοῦ κύρ παπαῖ Ἰωάννου ... ὅτι ἐγόρασά το ἀπὸ τὴν
 Λευκωσίαν 15th c., Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 91, n. 1.1–2
 ὁ νοῦς μου οὐδὲν ἔναι μετ' ἐμέναν, ὅχι διὰ ζημίαν ἀμὴ διὰ τὰ παιδιά, ὅτι ἀγαπῶ τα
 15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 102.20
 νὰ γλυώσω τὸν ἄθρωπο ὃς ἔπλασα ... ὅτι ἐμετάνοιωσα ὅτι ἔκαμά τους
 16th c., *Pent. Gen.* 6.7
 φέρε μού το σπουδαχτικά στὸ σπῖτι μας, γιατί ἀντιμεύγω σοῦ το
 17th c./16th c., CHORTATIS, *Katz.* III.149–50

NOTE

- (i) The absence of πώς from this set of examples is probably not accidental, and indicative of the extent to which such "innovative" non-modal conjunctions had been assimilated to the distribution of modal ones.

cl+V

- ὅτε καὶ μέ ἔλαβεν εἰς νόμιμον γυνὴν εἰς τὴν χώραν Ραγούσας
 1171, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VII: 4, 362.9–363.1
 κι ὁ ρήγας, ὡς τὸ ἤκουσεν, μεγάλως τὸ ἐλυπήθη 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7827
 νὰ σὲ δώσουν ἐκ τῆς γιστέρνας τὸ νερόν, ... διατὶ μέ τὸ ὥρισε ὁ ἱατρὸς κ' εἶπεν ὅτι
 ὠφελεῖ με 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8211–13
 νὰ ἡξεύρετε ὅτι μᾶς ἔστειλεν ὁ μέγας αὐθέντης 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.8–9
 ὥσπερ τὸ λέγει ὁ ἅγιος Ἀμβρόσιος ὁ Μεδιολάνων εἰς τὸ χρονικὸ τοῦ
 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.39–40
 καὶ ἐξεθύμανεν εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας, πὼς τές ἄφησαν καὶ ἔκαμαν τοιοῦτον μέγα
 πρᾶγμα 16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 247.12–13
 καὶ λέν πὼς τὸ χεῖ φυσικὸ ν' ἀδυναμίση τόσα 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.36

Subjects Preceding: V+cl and cl+V

V+cl

- καὶ ὁ φόβος ἐξυπνᾷ σε 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 170
 ὡς ἑκατεστάθησαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν μας, ὁ Θεὸς ἐλευθερώσῃ σε
 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 215–16
 διατὶ ὁ νόμος λέγει το καὶ ἡ φύσις ἀπαιτεῖ το 13th–14th c./12th c., *Spaneas P* 165

- ἐγὼ θεωρῶ ὀφθαλμοφανῶς, ὁ ρήγας ἀγαπᾷ σας, κ' ἔχει σας εἰς προσορώτησιν κ' εἰς
 τὴν βουλήν του πρώτους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8517–18
 ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Πρίαμος μηνᾷ σε μετ' ἐμένα 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1366
 ὁ σουλτάνος ἀπολογήθην του καὶ μήνυσέν του με τοὺς δυὸ του μαντατοφόρους
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.26–7
 μοναῦτα ὁ πατέρας της ἐπηρέν την εἰς τὸ σπῖτιν του με μεγάλην λύπην
 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 6.8–9
- cl+V
- ἐγὼ φοφῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μέ σπαστρεύουν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 393
 ἀτός του ὁ μισὶρ Ντζεφρὲς τοῦ ἔδωκεν τὰ πιττάκια 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 328
 καὶ ἡ βουλή του τοῦ εἶπασιν τοῦ νὰ ἔχη ἀποστείλει ἄνθρωπον φρονιμώτατον
 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7831–2
 τὸ θράσος τὸ ἐνίκησεν, πηδᾷ, καβαλικεύει 16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 79
 καὶ ἡ Θεοτόκος τῆς λέγει 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 331.5
 τινὲς εἶπαν ὅτι ὁ Πατριάρχης τοῦ ἐπαρήγγειλε νὰ ὑπάγῃ διὰ βοήθεια
 16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 70
 ἐξέβα ἔξω, ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς σε καλεῖ! 16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.16
 ἀμμή οἱ Ρωμαῖοι τὸ λέγουσι ἀλλέως 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.22

Simple Topics Preceding: V+cl and (later) cl+V

V+cl (standard)

- ψυχὴ μου, μακροθύμησον, τὸν κόσμον ἔμαθές τον 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 308
 τοὺς Τρῶας ἐτροπεύσαν τους, ἐδιῶξαν τους, ὑπάγουν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 3912
 αὐτὰ οὖν ὅλα ἐνθυμᾶσθέ τα νὰ τοὺς νουθετήσετε καὶ νὰ τοὺς παιδεύσετε καλὰ
 1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.22–288.1
 τὸν Θούμαν ἐφερέν τον μετὰ της ἡ κυρὰ ἡ ρήγαίνα, ἡ Ελένα
 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 4.18–19
 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καβαλλάρηδες ἐφάνην τους νὰ τοῦ μηνύσει ὁ ρήγας, νὰ ῥτῇ
 ὁμπρὸς του 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 22.6–7
 τὸ ὁποῖον ἐτοῦτο ἀκούοντάς το ἐγὼ, ὁ εὐχέτης τῆς μεγάλης σου βασιλείας, οὐ δ'
 ὅλως τὸ ἐπίστευσα 1655, Moldavia, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 9, 77.13–14
 ἀκόμη καὶ τὸ ἄλλον ἡμισον ἐχάρισέν το ὁ Διενῆς 1665, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 7, 19.11
 λοιπὸν τὸ γράμμα πέμπω το 17th c., PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou Dedic.* 13

cl+V (later, from ca. 16th c.)

- καὶ ὅλους τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοὺς ἐνίκα 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 278.18–19
 καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ ἔλεγαν δένδρον τοῦ φεγγαρίου 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.21–2
 καὶ τοῦτο το κάμνει ὁ Θεὸς πολλές φορές 16th c., DIONYS., *Istor.* 254.16

τοῦτα τὰ εἶπεν εἰς ὅλους 17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 55.14
 αὐτὴ τὴν βρῦση τὴν ἔφκιασε με ἐδικές του ἐξόδεψες ὁ Ἰζάρ μπέης
 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 46.26–47.1

Adverbials/Adverbial Clauses Preceding: V+cl and (in part later) cl+V

V+cl: Adverbials

ὁκάτι τώρα βλέπω σε, πολλά εἶσαι βαρεμένη 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 304
 εἰ δὲ πολλάκις δόξει τὴν καὶ φθάσει ὁ καρκατσός της 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 35
 ἀλήθεια, δίδεις με πολλά 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. II* 24
 ἀπὸ μακρὲα στριγγίζω τον 14th c./13th–14th c., *Log. parig.* L 71
 ἐκ μέρους γὰρ τοῦ ἀφέντου του ἐπαρακάλεσέ τον νὰ ὀρίση, νὰ τὸν δώσουσι νερόν ἐκ
 τὴν γιστέρναν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8220–1
 ὀλίγον φέρνει με ὁ θυμὸς νὰ βάλω νὰ σὲ σύρουν ἐκ τῶν ἀλόγων τὰς οὐράς, ὅλους νὰ
 σᾶς κρεμάσουν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1465–6
 κ' ἐκεῖ εἶχαν τον πολλά ἀκριβόν 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 14.17
 τὸ λοιπόν, λέγε μου με δίχως φόβον πῶς ἐπλανέθηκες τέτοιας λογῆς
 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.20–1
 ἀκόμη ἔδωσέν της καὶ ἄσπρα πεντακόσια 1669, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 184.10

V+cl: Adverbial Clauses

ὁ προρρηθὲς ὁ Πιτζούλος, ὅτε καὶ με ἔλαβεν εἰς νόμιμον γυνὴν εἰς τὴν χώραν
 Ραγούσας, δέδωκέν μοι ἓν οἶκημα 1171, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VII: 4, 362.8–363.1
 καθὲς ὡς ἐμαγείρευσεν, εὐρίσκει το ἐμπροσθέν του 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 366
 θωρῶντα τον ὁ ἀποστολὲς, ἐποῖκεν του πολλὰς τιμὰς 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 14.17–18
 οὐλον τὸν κόσμον θρέφει τον τὸ θάρος κ' ἐγὼ ἔφοτις ἐβίγλισα ἔχ τον Πόθον ... ἔχασά
το κι ἄξάπα γοιὸν καμίνιν 16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 109.19–22
 ἂν ἡμου καὶ στὴν καδένα, ἦσπουν τη νὰ φύγω 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.173–4

cl+V: Adverbials (mainly with a linking function)

τότε με λογάριασε καλῶς ..., καὶ ἂν μ' εὖρης χρώμενον κακῶς εἰς ταῦτα τὰ με δίδεις,
 τότε με καταδίκασε, [τότε κατὰγνωσέ με] 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. II* 66–8 app. crit. (H)
 ὁ μισὶρ Ντζὰς ὁ Τζαρδεροῦς, κοντόσταυλος ὁ μέγας (οὕτως τὸν ὠνομάζασιν στο
 πριγκιπάτο ὅλο ...) 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7820–1
 διὰ τοῦτο σε παρακαλοῦν οἱ λῖζιοι τοῦ Μορέως 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7902
 καὶ ὥσπερ τὰς γυναῖκας των οὕτως με ἀγαποῦσιν 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 767
 εἶτα τὸν εἶπε καὶ ἄς τὰ πολλαπλασιάσῃ με ἕτερα ε', εἴθ' οὕτως πέ τον
 post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 38, 34.4–6

λάκκον βαθὺν ἐσκάψασιν, ὡς κάμνουν τοῦ κλημάτου κ' ἐκεῖ μέσα μ' ἐβάλασιν, εἰς
 τόπον τοῦ χωμάτου 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nokr. Vas.* 69–70
 ὁμοίως τοῦ ἀφίνει καὶ τὸ σπῖτι του ... ἀκόμη τοῦ ἀφίνει τοῦ αὐτοῦ Νικολάου
 χωράφια πινακίων δώδεκα 1583, Zakynthos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: A, 298.19–299.2
 ἔλα νὰ πᾶμε εἰς τὸ σπῖτι μου, νὰ σταθῇς νὰ ῥδινιάσω τὰ παιδιὰ μου, τὸ σπῖτι μου
 ..., κι ἀπ' ἐκεῖ με ἔπαρε 16th c., *Nov. II* 162.29–31

cl+V: Adverbial Clauses (mostly late, from ca. 16th c.)

καὶ λάφιν δὲν μ' ἐγλύτωνεν ..., τὸ νὰ τὸ δῶ, τὸ δόξευα κ' εἶχα το σκοτωμένον
 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nokr. Vas.* 45–6
 ἂν ἤθελες βάλης λίτρες δέκα σαλμίτριο, τοῦ βάνεις δύο κουταλιὲς στάχτη
 ?15th–16th c., Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.22
 ὡς ἔφθασαν εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον, τοῦ εἶπασιν 16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.15
 ἡ ἐπιθυμία, ἐνεργῶντας εἰς τοῦ λόγου σας, σᾶς ἐσηκώνει ἡδονὴν
 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.11–12
 ἔστοντας λοιπὸν νὰ εὐρίσκεται ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς αὐτεῖνην τὴν δεινὴν πλάνην καὶ
 ἀπάτην, τοῦ γεννᾶται ἓνα παιδί 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 37.31–2
 τὸν καιρὸ ποὺ ὑπανδρεύθηκε τὴν μακαρίαν καὶ ἀγιοτάτη ὄσιαν Θεοδώραν, τοῦ
ἐφανερώθηκε ὁ Σατανὰς καὶ τὸν ἔβαλε εἰς πείραξη 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 25.6–9

Left-Dislocated Topics Preceding: V+cl and (later) cl+V

V+cl (standard)

τὴν ἐπιστολὴ τὴν σὲ ἔπεμψα με τὸν Θεόδωρον νὰ τὴν πέμψεις τὸν ἀββᾶν Γεράσιμον,
ἀνάγνωσέ την 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.15–16
 τὴν μίαν κασέλαν τὴν μικρὴν ἀφῶ την τὸν ἱατρὸν τὸν κύρ Μανουήλ
 ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.37
 τοὺς κόντους καὶ καβαλλαρίους, ἀπεχαιρέτησέν τους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8610
 καὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ ποιεῖς ἐσύ λέγεις τα πρὸς ἐμένα; 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 164
 τὸν νοῦν μου τὸν ἀδούλωτον, ἐκατεδούλωσές τον
 15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 743 transcr. (Panayotopoulou/Lendari)
 ἀπὲ τὸ μοῦ μηνᾶς ὅτι εἶσαι γεῖτος μου καὶ νὰ ἔχωμεν ἀγάπην κατὰ τὸν ὀρισμὸν τοῦ
 θεοῦ καὶ νὰ ἔχωμεν δῆμμαν μεσόν μας, τζετιάζω το
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.27–9
 τὴ δοξεμένη μου καρδιὰ σκίζου καὶ σφάζου μου τη 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Erof.* II.118

cl+V (later, from ca. 16th c.)

τὰ ὁποῖα ἄνωθεν δουκάτα εἴκοσι, τὰ ἔλαβεν χεροδοτὰ σῶα
 1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 25, 35.14–15

ταῦτα πάντα ὅσα με ἄφηκεν ὁ πατέρας μου ὁ Σεραφεῖμ, τὰ ἐπερίλαβα ἐγὼ ἡ Ζαφείρω
1606, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 26, 102.17–18

ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ προλεγόμενοι ἄνδρες ..., ἐκείνην τὴν κακωσύνην ὅπου εἶχασιν μέσα τως,
τὴν φανερώνουσι 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 40.12

τὰ ροῦχα καὶ τὲς κασέλες μέρτσα, τὰ ἔλαβα καὶ κρῖμα εἰς τὸν κόπον
1696, Ochrid, MERTZIOS 1947a: 9, 214.10

8.2.2 V Non-Initial in VC: cl+V

Mood Marker Preceding

καὶ κἂν ἄς τὸν ἐκέρδησες καὶ κἂν ἄς τὸν ἐχάρης, ἄς εἶδες κἂν ἐνύπνιον γλυκὺν κατὰ
τὸν ὕπνον! 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 167–8

ποῦ ἦτον εἰς τὸν ἐσπερινόν, ἄς τὸν ἐκβάλουν ἔξω 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 49

καὶ γὰρ ἐζήτησεν τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς χώρας καὶ νὰ τοῦ τὸ ἐδώκασιν
1288, Cos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 228.22–3

τί νὰ σὲ λέγω τὰ πολλά πολλάκις νὰ βαριέσαι; 16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 1092

ἄς βάλη ἄλλα τόσα καὶ ἕτερα εἴ καὶ ἄς τὰ σουμμάρη. εἶτα τὸν εἶπε καὶ ἄς τὰ
πολλαπλασιάσῃ με ἕτερα εἴ, εἴθ' οὕτως πέ τον
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 38, 34.5–6

τὸν δίδομεν ἄδειαν, τὸ πεζούλιον ὅπερ εὐρίσκεται ἐκεῖ ὅπου τρέχει, ἡγουν ὅπου
ἐβγαίνει τὸ νερόν, νὰ τὸ ὀρίζη καὶ νὰ φικιάνη καὶ τὸ νερό ἔαν χαλάσῃ τίποτε
1582, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 58, 179.5–6

καὶ τὰ μετρητὰ τοῦ πεθεροῦ μου, με πρῶτο καράβι ὅπου θέλει ἔρθῃ νὰ μᾶς τὰ
στελῇ 1697, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 64, 240.4–5

Negative Preceding

ψεύδεται, φλυαρεῖ, μὴ τὸν πιστεύῃς! 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 133

μεγαλοψύχως δέξαι με καὶ μὴ με ἀγανακτήσῃς 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* II 19.6 app. crit. (H)

τὸ δὲ ὁμάτζιο καὶ λίζιαν, τὸ ὀρίζει νὰ ἔχουν ποιήσῃ τοῦ μπάιλου ἐκείνου ντὲ Σουλῆ,
ποτέ οὐδὲ τὸ κάμνουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7874–5

διὰ τοῦτο σὲ παρακαλοῦν οἱ λίζιοι τοῦ Μορέως μὴ τὸ δεχτῇς εἰς βάρος σου ἐτοῦτο
ὅπου σὲ λέγουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7902–3

αὐτοὶ οὐδὲν τὸ ἠθέλησαν, ἡλλαξάν το δὲ καὶ ἀπῆραν τὸ ἀμπέλιον τοῦ γιालοῦ
14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.8

ἂν οὐ σὲ γάπουν τὰ πολλά, τώρα σκοτώσει σὲ ᾄχα
15th–16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 1571

μὴ σοῦ φαίνεται παράξενο ἂν ἐσκοτίσθηκα ἀπὸ τὴν πολλὴν λάμψιν
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.30–1

καὶ ὅσες γραφές τοῦ ἔπεμψε ἡ γυναῖκα του, δὲν τὲς τοῦ ἔδωκεν
1571, Unknown, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 8, 481.11–12

καὶ ἃ δὲν τὸ πιστεύῃ ὁ ἄνωθεν μισερ-Τζώρτζης, ὀμπλεγάρεται ὁ ἄνωθεν μισερ-
Μαθιὸς νὰ πὰ τὸ ξανακαμπανίσου στοῦ ἄνωθεν Καρβουνάρη
1609, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 626, 547.15

NOTES

- (i) The traditional negative marker οὐ(κ) and its verb are often treated as a single unit within the verbal complex, thus forcing the clitic either to precede the negative or to follow the verb according to the immediate contextual requirements. This occurs mostly in early texts:

τόπον ἐκ τόπου μεριμνᾷς καὶ τόπος οὐ χωρεῖ σε 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 156
γοργὸν ἂν σὲ οὐκ ἐκβάλουσιν, ἐκεῖ νὰ ἐξεψυχῇς 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 229
τί τοὺς οὐ θάπτω ὥσπερ ζῶ καὶ φεύγω ἀπὸ τὴν Πόλιν ... ;
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* II 26.11 app. crit. (H)

- (ii) The presence of a connective in second position between a negative and its verb may override the expected clitic placement:

μὴ οὖν ἀποχωρίσῃς τοὺς μηδ' ἀποπέμψῃς μᾶλλον 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 12

- (iii) The emphatic negative μηδέ regularly stands immediately before the word that it emphasizes and may prevent clitic attraction if this is the verb:

καὶ μηδέ ἐπιχειρῶ το 12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.8v.4

We may contrast examples where the presence of a focus other than V allows for the regular distribution:

τὸ δὲ θεὸς ἐσύ, νὰ μηδέ ἄλλου τὸ ποίσῃς 16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 24

- (iv) A negative marker may combine with an intensifying adverbial to form a single element (= “not at all” etc.):

τὸ ὅποῖον ἐτοῦτο ἀκούοντάς το ἐγὼ, ὁ εὐχέτης τῆς μεγάλης σου βασιλείας, οὐ δ'
ὀλως τὸ ἐπίστευσα 1655, Moldavia, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 9, 77.13–14

Mood Marker and Negative Preceding

καὶ λυτρωθοῦμεν τον γοργόν, νὰ μὴ μᾶς παραβλέπῃ 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 528

τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον ἐνι τοῦ παπᾶ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Πρακανᾶ καὶ εἴ τις νὰ τὸ πάρῃ νὰ
διαβάσῃ καὶ νὰ μηδὲν τὸ στρέψῃ, νὰ ἔχη τὰς ἀράς τῶν τη' θεοφόρων πατέρων
14th c., Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 99, 99.1–3

ἐγδύνουνται ... ἀποῦ τὰ σπῖτιαν καὶ ἀπὸ ὅλα τως τὰ δικαιώματα σὰν νὰ μὴν τὰ
θέλασιν ἔχει ποτέ 1592, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 19, 74.13–14

παρακαλῶ τὴ πανιερότη σου νὰ μὴ τὸ πάρῃς σὲ βάρη νὰ μοῦ πέψῃς μιὰ φλέτσα ...
καὶ κακοφαίνεται μου καὶ γράφεις μου νὰ μὴ τότε δεκτῶ
1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.10–14

8.3 Clitic Pronouns and Periphrastic Verb Forms

Perfects and pluperfects formed with *έχω* + passive participle (typically a southern feature, cf. 4.4.4), treat the pronoun as the object of the auxiliary. This is expected, since the origin of the construction is an expression in which the participle serves as an object predicate: "I have it + written" etc. The placement of the clitic vis-à-vis *έχω* then follows Rule (94) (i.e. in conformity with the various constraints on what can count as an initial constituent for the purposes of clitic placement):

- θωρῶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ έχει σὰς κερδεμένους 16th c./15th c., LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 61
 μ' ὄλο ποὺ τόσοι βασιλιοὶ τὴν έχου ζητημένη 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Erof.* I.534
 βοήθεια ἀπὸ ἄρματα, ὅπου οἱ Τούρκοι τοὺς έχουν στερεμένα 1609, Cyprus, CHASIoTIS 1972: 35, 59.7

For examples of pluperfects formed with *είχα* + infinitive (which are ultimately derived from conditionals), see below.

From the semantic point of view, futures and conditionals formed with *έχω/θέλω* + infinitive or subjunctive should treat clitic pronouns as complements of the infinitive/subjunctive, cf. "I will + take it", "he will + come to you", etc. This is clearly the case when the subjunctive is marked by *νά*, since there are obviously two distinct VCs in play and the clitic always belongs to the second (as its second element):

- θέλεις [νά τοὺς ἐκλέξης] 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4633
 ἂν δύνανμαι, έχω [νά σέ δουλεύσω] ?1448, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 45, 321.5
θέλει [νά μοῦ δώσει] ὁ ἀδερφός μου 1531, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 20, 66.13–14
έχει [νά τοῦ ἔλθῃ] αὐτὸς ὁ θάνατος 1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 14, 35.5–6

The same analysis in fact applies to the relatively rare examples of bare subjunctives without *νά*:

- δὲν ἤθελαν [τὸ δουλεύουν] 1573, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 2, 21.10

This situation persists throughout the period of this Grammar and eventually results, via phonological reduction of the auxiliary, in the sequence (*θε νά >*) *θα* + clitic + V familiar from MG (where the residual status of *θα* as the head of a VC is indicated by the fact that it is still negated by *δεν*, independently of what follows).

Things are different, however, with infinitives (in what follows, futures/conditionals and pluperfects are treated together as formally parallel periphrastic structures). When the auxiliary is initial, the pronoun stands before the infinitive, making it the second element both in the periphrasis taken as a whole and in the containing clause:

- Aux + cl + Infinitive: θέλω σου τα πέφει 1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 3, 21.16

When the auxiliary is non-initial in its VC, or has been attracted to a clause-initial constituent, the clitic is normally preposed before the auxiliary to remain the second item in the periphrasis/clause:

- X [cl + Aux + Infinitive]: νά τὴν θέλωμεν θάψει; 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 92

This state of affairs suggests an early reanalysis of the sequence *Aux + cl + Inf*, whereby the clitic was taken to be the grammatical complement of the preceding auxiliary rather than of the following infinitive. In other words, infinitival periphrases came to be regarded as unitary verb forms, with the auxiliary as part of a single VC and the infinitive as its head.

This latter development, however, was generalized rather slowly in the south, most obviously in Crete:

- τσί γάμους σου ἔρχεται νά τιμήσῃ ὁ βασιλιὸς τῆς Πέρσις, σὰν είχα σου μιλήσει 17th c., TROILOS, *Rodol.* III.215–16

It was strongly resisted in Cyprus, where the auxiliary and infinitive are consistently treated as the heads of two distinct VCs, giving the sequence [X + Aux + cl + Infinitive] in all cases:

- νά είχα [σε γεννήσειν] 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 644.5–6
 ἂν είχεν [τοῦ πάρειν] τὸ καράβιν, ἔθελεν πεθάνειν ἀπὲ τὴν πλῆξιν τοῦ 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 86.3–4
ἂν είχα [τὸ ξεύρειν], οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἔμπαινα 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 38.3
ἂν είχεν [τὸ ποίσειν], ἐγινίσκετον μέγα σκάνταλον 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 52.6–7

Auxiliary Initial: Aux+cl+V

- καὶ ἂν τὸν πάρῃς, θέλω σοῦ δώσειν κακὸν θάνατον 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 68.26
θέλομε σοῦ δώσει θέλημα 1663, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 5, 415.13
 μοῦ ἔγραφε πὼς θέλεις μοῦ στείλῃ τὸ ρέστο τῆς παραγγελίας 1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 6, 213.8–9
ἤθελε τὸν ρίξει κάτω με καμίαν λαβωματιάν 18th c., *Don Kis.* 50.17

NOTES

- (i) Failure of attraction of the clitic to the innovative/popular complementizer in cases like πὼς θέλεις μοῦ στείλῃ (MERTZIOS 1947a: 6, 213.8–9, cited above) is difficult to explain in view of what was said above about this class of elements (and cf. the expected pattern attested in the examples immediately below). Perhaps these cases simply reflect the continuing influence of the functionally equivalent *ὅτι*, which tends to retain the "main-clause" distribution of clitics in subordinate clauses, as noted. We may compare the same situation in corresponding examples with pluperfects:

- ὡς εἶδανε οἱ Οὐγγαροὶ τοὺς Φραντζέζους τὸ πὼς είχανέ τουσε κόψει ὄλους 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.1–2

Auxiliary Non-Initial: X cl+Aux+V

- εἰ μὲν τὸν θέλεις κακοποιῆσαι διὰ τὰ σφάλματα αὐτοῦ 1130–40?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 535.9–10
 τὸ στέμμα τὸ βασιλικὸν νά τοῦ τὸ έχουν φορέσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 953
 ὅταν σᾶς θέλουν σφάζει 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1441
 ἐκεῖνοι παρακάθονται ἵνα τὸ θέλουν πάρει 16th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* O

δυντε τῇ θεῇ ζητήξει

16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 160

σαν ἔλθοῦν οἱ ποντικοὶ ..., τοὺς θέλομε ἀντισταθῆ

16th c., ZINOS, *Vatr.* 261–2

Pluperfects formed with εἶχα + infinitive naturally follow the same general patterns of clitic distribution, though the fact that the majority of examples occur in subordinate clauses with overt conjunctions strongly favours pre-auxiliary position overall. Generally, therefore, the clitic precedes the auxiliary in the presence of a conjunction (or indeed a negative marker or other legitimate “initial” element):

ἔβαλαν τὸν βασιλέαν ἐκεῖνον εἰς τὸ σκαμνὶ ... ὅπου τὸ εἶχεν χάσει

14th. c., *Chron. Mor.* H 622–3

καθὼς τοὺς εἶχε ὁμόσει

16th c./14th. c., *Chron. Mor.* P 81

δὲ μοῦ εἶχες δώσει τότες ἄλλο ..., ἀμὴ εἶχε μου εἰπεῖν

1501–3, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 7, 33.7

καθὼς τοὺς εἶχεν ἀφήκει ὁ Νεκτεναβός

16th c., *Diig. Alex.* K 349.33

προτοῦ σώση ἐκεῖ, τὸν εἶχε φθονήσει ἡ γυναῖκα του καὶ ὁ υἱός του καὶ τὸν

ἔσκοτώσανε

17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.29–31

τὲς δύο στάμνες ποῦ σοῦ εἶχα στέλει

1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 306, f2r.21

But if the conjunction is a traditional one, the clitic may sometimes follow:

ἐπειδὴ εἶχον του μηνύσει νὰ ἔλθει νὰ ἰμοιράσουν 1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 39, 33.2–3

And post-auxiliary position is regular in the second of two conjoined clauses when the periphrasis is the initial element:

δὲ μοῦ εἶχες δώσει τότες ἄλλο ..., ἀμὴ εἶχε μου εἰπεῖν

1501–3, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 7, 33.7

By contrast, the original (i.e. biclausal) treatment of the construction is retained in Cyprus, with clitics appearing in post-auxiliary position across the board:

εἶχαν τὸν κόψει κακὰ καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν

15th c./13th c., *Assizes B* 267.11–12

εἶχαμὲν το δώσει

1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULOS 1983: 46, 25.2

Index of Linguistic Terms and Concepts

accusative. *See* case and grammatical functions, adjuncts
 addition. *See* consonant addition and vowel addition
 adjective phrases. *See* grammatical functions, adjuncts
 adjectives, 241, 688–808
 indeclinable, 757, 758, 763, 792, 793–4, 807–8, 820, 824
 irregular, 794–806
 two-termination, 718–21
 verbal, in periphrastic forms, 1269, 1272, 1818, 1825–6, 1833, 1839
 adjuncts. *See* grammatical functions
 adverbs, 241, 830–44
 comparative forms, 841–4
 from adjectives, 832–6, 839–40, 841
 from nouns, 840
 from numerals, 837
 from participles, 833
 from prepositional phrases, 838–9, 840
 in comparative clauses, 1924
 of degree/quantity, 836–7
 of time/speed, 837–8
 See also grammatical functions, adjuncts
 affrication. *See* consonant changes
 agreement
 case, 1816, 1823, 1831, 1834, 1836, 1838, 1864, 1915, 1928, 1944, 1945, 2018
 gender, 1816, 1823, 1831, 1834, 1836, 1838, 1864, 1915, 1928, 1944
 in control predicates, 1888–9
 in relative clauses, 1984–7
 case attraction, 1103, 1123, 1129, 1130, 1133, 1984, 1986
 number, 1816, 1823, 1831, 1834, 1836, 1838, 1863–4, 1915, 1927, 1928–9, 1944, 1945
 ad sensum, 1864
 Attic syntax, 1864
 of predicative complements, 1864–5
 of topic and clitic, 2024
 person, 1863–4, 1927, 1928–9
 conjoined subjects, 1864
 analogical levelling, 38, 39, 69, 73, 84, 135, 146, 148, 223, 229, 241, 253–4, 256, 266, 287, 874, 953, 973, 993, 1043, 1267–8, 1276, 1277, 1293, 1302–7,

1355, 1399, 1434, 1497, 1498, 1532, 1602, 1608, 1723
 anaptyxis. *See* vowel addition and consonant addition
 aorist. *See* tense
 aphaeresis. *See* vowel deletion
 apocope. *See* vowel deletion
 apodosis. *See* conditional
 apposition, 2017–18
 appositive clauses, 2017–18
 appositive noun phrases, 1947, 2018, 2025
 non-restrictive, 2018
 restrictive, 2019
 Arabic. *See* loanwords and writing system, foreign scripts
 articles, 241, 846–61
 definite, 846–61, 1969–74
 determiner spreading, 1972–3
 omission of, 94–5, 847, 1971, 1972
 in conjoined noun phrases, 1970
 in prepositional phrases, 1972
 reverse determiner spreading, 1973–4
 used as relative pronoun, 1097–105, 1983, 1984–5
 with pronouns, 895, 910, 912, 924, 951, 971, 993, 998, 1002, 1008, 1009, 1042, 1106, 1135, 1150, 1161, 1164, 1980, 1982
 with proper names and titles, 2020
 with superlatives, 814, 816
 indefinite, 861, 1041–50, 1976–7
 zero, 1974–5
 aspect. *See* verbal aspect
 aspiration, 131, 138
 assimilation. *See* consonant changes and vowel changes
 asyndeton. *See* coordination
 augment, 37, 44, 48, 49, 1269, 1394–433
 absence of, 1406–7, 1410–13, 1417–19, 1432–3
 in compound verbs, 1394, 1413–17
 double, 1414
 external, 1414–16
 internal, 1417
 triple, 1417
 in prefixed verbs, 1394–5, 1419–32
 double, 1423, 1426–32

- augment (cont.)
 external, 1419, 1423-6
 internal, 1420-3
 pseudo-augment, 38-40, 67, 536, 1395-6, 1514
 replacing initial vowel, 1269, 1394, 1407,
 1408-10, 1413, 1416, 1423, 1425,
 1430-1
 syllabic, 1394, 1397-406
 /e/, 1397-8
 /i/, 1398-406
 general distribution, 1398-402
 restricted distribution, 1403-6, 1410, 1425
 temporal, 1394, 1407-8
 with loanwords, 1397
 with simple verbs, 1397-413
 auxiliary verb constructions. *See* periphrastic tenses
 and moods
- backing. *See* vowel changes
- case, 241, 1944, 1945-63
 accusative, 1947-57
 direct object, 1947-9
 double, 1948-9
 indirect object, 1949-50
 periphrastic $\epsilon\chi\omega$ + acc., 1949
 replaced by prep. phrase, 1949, 1950
 with intrans./pass. verbs/adj., 1949
 dative, 254, 297, 319, 329, 490, 532, 537, 857,
 1183, 1961-2
 innovative forms, 242-3
 replaced by acc., 1951-2
 replaced by gen., 1951, 1952
 residual uses, 241-3, 876, 1961-2
 genitive, 1957-9
 absolute, 1708, 1757, 1915, 1916-17, 1941,
 1946
 governed by adj., 1958-9
 indirect object, 1957-8
 replaced by acc., 1952
 replaced by prep. phrase, 1952, 1957, 1958,
 1964
 nominative, 1945
 'hanging', 1946, 2023, 2024
 absolute, 1915-16, 1941
 replaces vocative, 415, 480, 626, 667, 1947
 syncretism, 243-8
 of acc. and gen. pl., 243-6
 of acc. and nom. sg., 247-8
 of nom. and acc. pl., 247
 vocative, 1947
See also agreement and grammatical functions,
 adjuncts
- case attraction. *See* agreement, in relative clauses
- clauses, 1863-926
- adverbial, 1896-926
 causal, 1920
 coordinated with $\kappa\alpha\iota$, 1919-20
 overlap with temporal clauses, 1920
 resembling complement clauses, 1919
 comparative, 1925
 counterfactual, 1923, 1924
 factual, 1922-3, 1924
 overlap with temporal clauses, 1923
 prospective, 1923-4
 concessive, 1921
 conditional, 1901-5
 future time reference, 1901-3
 past time reference, 1904-5
 present time reference, 1903-4
See also conditional
 consecutive/result, 1899-901
 coordinated with $\kappa\alpha\iota$, 1900-1
 omission of conjunction, 1900
 overlap with final clauses, 1900
 final/purpose, 1896-8
 coordinated with $\kappa\alpha\iota$, 1897-8
 infinitival, 1897
 nominalized, 1896, 1897
 omission of conjunction, 1896
 overlap with consecutive clauses, 1900
 governed by a preposition, 1925-6
 temporal, 1917
 following, 1906-7, 1911-13
 overlapping, 1906, 1909, 1910-11
 preceding, 1906, 1907-10
 omission of conjunction, 1910
 overlap with causal clauses, 1920
 overlap with comparative clauses, 1923
 with gerund/participle, 1917
 with nominalized verb forms, 1913-14
- complement clauses, 1884-94
 control predicates, 1887-9
 coordinated with $\kappa\alpha\iota$, 1886, 1889-90, 1893
 indirect questions, 1894-5
 deliberative, 1895
 nominalized, 1895
 omission of complementizer, 1885-6, 1890, 1893
 with aspectual verbs, 1891, 1892-3
 with factive verbs, 1887, 1890-1
 with modal verbs, 1891-2
 with verbs of fearing/precaution, 1893-4
 with verbs of reporting/declaring, 1884-6
- main, 1863-83
 commands and prohibitions, 1875-9
 exclamations, 1881
 questions, 1879-80
 constituent, 1879
 rhetorical, 1796, 1798, 1879
 speculative, 1880

- yes/no, 1879-80, 1894, 1895
 statements, 1865-75
 factual, 1865
 hypothetical, 1865-75
 wishes, 1881-3
 counterfactual, 1882-3
 for the future, 1881-2
 relative, 1983-92
 headless, 1096-7, 1098, 1104-5, 1154, 1161,
 1990-2
 non-restrictive, 1097, 1103, 1104, 1122-3,
 1988-90
 modifying a sentence, 1990
 omission of relat. marker, 1987-8
 restrictive, 1104, 1136, 1983-8
 with concessive/temporal sense, 1921
 with final sense, 1897
- clitic doubling
 in relative clauses, 1097, 1105, 1123, 1145, 1989
 with topics, 2023-5
- clitic pronouns. *See* pronouns and determiners,
 personal, weak; clitic doubling and
 constituent order
- coalescence. *See* phonemes, vowels, regional
 differentiation
- commands. *See* clauses, main
- comparison, 814-29
 analytic/periphrastic, 815, 818-19
 comparative, 715, 815, 817-19, 820
 correlative, 1988
 double, 819-20
 irregular formations, 820-6, 828-9
 superlative
 absolute, 689, 815, 826-9
 relative, 715, 815, 818, 819, 820
 synthetic/monoclectic, 815, 816-18
See also adverbs and clauses, adverbial
- complementizers. *See* clauses, complement clauses
- complements. *See* grammatical functions
- compounds, 216, 255, 261, 288, 304, 349, 352, 356,
 358, 435, 450, 460, 463, 514, 516,
 518, 590, 592, 688, 697, 705, 718,
 772, 778, 780, 782, 783, 785, 993,
 1060, 1067
- adverb + verb, 832
- dvandva
 nouns, 306, 310
 numerals, 1252, 1253
 verbs, 1413, 1417
- stress position, 235-7
- conditional, 1271, 1932
 apodosis, 1796, 1798, 1803, 1806, 1866, 1871,
 1875, 1901
 denoting habituality, 1799, 1938
 develops into pluperfect, 1796, 1815-16, 1901,
 1938
- future-in-the-past, 1271, 1795, 1797, 1802, 1805,
 1811, 1812, 1866, 1871
 in comparative clauses, 1923
 in indefinite relative clauses, 1798-9, 1847
 in requests, 1796, 1798
 in rhetorical questions, 1796, 1798
 in unrealised wishes, 1796, 1798, 1882, 1883
 lack of aspectual contrast, 1871
 lack of temporal distinction, 1866, 1871
- modal
 deontic, 1796, 1802, 1812, 1872
 hypothetical, 1865-75
 counterfactual, 1271, 1796, 1797, 1798,
 1802, 1803, 1805, 1806-7, 1809,
 1811, 1812, 1813, 1815, 1871-5,
 1903-5, 1923, 1924
 neutral, 1796, 1798, 1865-70, 1901, 1902-3
 potential, 1812
 protasis, 1796, 1798, 1803, 1806, 1871, 1875, 1901
 with past-tense complementation, 1802, 1806-7,
 1811, 1813
See also periphrastic tenses and moods and
 clauses, adverbial
- conjugation, 1269-71
- conjunction. *See* coordination
- consonant addition, 142-50
 anaptyxis/epenthesis, 116, 143-50
 of /y/, 79, 143-9, 1043, 1051, 1055, 1275, 1277,
 1291, 1300, 1301-2, 1303, 1319,
 1386, 1388, 1389, 1410, 1532, 1583
 of /r/, 150
 of nasal, 79, 117, 149-50, 1267, 1274, 1277,
 1281-2, 1284-6, 1299-300, 1356,
 1357, 1381, 1384
- final /n/, 48, 117, 165-74, 175, 183, 265, 274,
 275, 289, 292, 327, 429, 489, 503,
 512, 519, 578, 588, 597, 633, 645,
 648-50, 652, 654, 679-80, 683, 686,
 751, 762, 775, 834, 863, 864, 868,
 953, 1009, 1025, 1028, 1042, 1046,
 1049, 1065, 1161, 1171, 1224, 1248,
 1369, 1370, 1436, 1437, 1440, 1447,
 1448, 1449, 1450, 1457, 1460, 1467,
 1472, 1473, 1480, 1482, 1485, 1488,
 1493, 1494, 1495, 1497, 1499, 1501,
 1504, 1509, 1511, 1520, 1525, 1526,
 1534, 1535, 1538, 1541-2, 1550,
 1561, 1565, 1580, 1599, 1600-1,
 1606, 1608, 1616, 1622, 1648, 1649,
 1653, 1655, 1656, 1657, 1661, 1663,
 1664, 1668, 1671, 1674, 1679, 1680,
 1681, 1687, 1688, 1699, 1705, 1711,
 1715, 1717, 1723, 1726, 1734, 1737,
 1741, 1764, 1765, 1812
- morphological, 166-70
 phonetic, 170-4

consonant addition (cont.)

- final /s/, 120, 163-4, 547, 577, 590, 650, 679-80, 830-1, 834-6, 842, 1014, 1034, 1088, 1678, 1696-7, 1700-2, 1705-6, 1707, 1741, 1755, 1758
- intrusive /s/, 1355-6, 1386
- prothesis, 117, 120, 142-3
- consonant changes, 185-221
- /x/ > /k/ and /f/ > /p/, 192, 1318-19, 1322-4, 1329, 1338, 1385
- affrication, 122-3, 194-8, 249, 942
- antimetathesis, 217-18
- assimilation, 112, 116, 117, 218, 1134
- of /n/, leading to gemination, 131, 134-5, 138, 139-41, 159, 174
- of fricatives before nasals, 116, 139, 156, 212
- cluster simplification, 115, 120, 126-30, 188
- deaffrication, 123-4, 142
- depalatalization, 17-22, 116, 120, 259, 634, 705, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 714, 745, 751, 757, 789, 791, 826, 1256, 1257, 1487, 1657
- devoicing, 115, 116, 203, 207
- dissimilation, 116, 117, 118, 218-21, 667
- dissimilatory consonant deletion, 114, 161-2, 219
- dissimilatory syllable deletion, 220-1
- fricative interchange, 116, 212-14
- voiced, 153, 213-14
- voiceless, 115, 212-13
- fricativization, 114, 115
- due to language contact, 210
- due to palatalization, 209-10
- due to voicing assimilation, 210-11
- sporadic, 208-9, 1034
- liquid interchange, 118, 214-16
- delateralization, 215-16, 1286, 1336-7
- liquid dissimilation, 216
- manner dissimilation, 113, 115, 124, 125, 185-93, 1247, 1248, 1260, 1261, 1268, 1312, 1313, 1314, 1315-17, 1322, 1324, 1327, 1330, 1338, 1339, 1340, 1341, 1389, 1451, 1489, 1492, 1493, 1561, 1564, 1606, 1652, 1659
- metathesis, 79, 118, 216-17, 737, 745, 747, 1336-7, 1372, 1375
- occlusion, 115, 211-12
- palatalization, 103, 112, 117, 118, 119, 121, 193-202, 249, 436, 737, 1003, 1302-7, 1375, 1484, 1487, 1658, 1726-7
- dental, 198-202, 679, 682
- strong velar, 194-8
- velar, 15, 121, 193-4, 1307, 1491, 1497
- voicing, 113, 115, 173-4, 202-6, 333, 475, 879, 904, 905, 909, 1070, 1793

intervocalic, 205-6

post-nasal, 116-17, 203-5, 851, 903

See also phonemes and hypercorrectionconsonant clusters. *See* phonotactics

consonant deletion, 150-63

- final /n/, 117, 125, 174-85, 269-70, 281, 282, 294-5, 313, 323, 329, 338, 350, 370, 371, 396, 417, 418, 445, 457, 482, 483, 492, 500, 516, 528, 542, 598, 607, 620, 628, 629, 630, 633, 641, 642, 655, 672, 699, 700, 704, 711, 726, 784, 851, 856, 860, 921, 922, 923, 1049, 1061, 1213, 1272, 1444, 1476, 1506, 1512, 1528, 1531, 1540, 1542, 1550, 1551, 1554, 1555, 1556, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1572, 1574, 1585, 1589, 1591, 1595, 1598, 1602, 1610, 1611, 1624, 1628, 1638, 1639, 1642, 1644, 1645, 1683, 1684, 1686, 1692, 1693, 1694, 1695, 1708, 1713, 1730, 1732, 1743, 1743, 1745, 1747, 1764
- final /s/, 120, 125, 161-3, 255, 271, 273-4, 284, 296, 307, 318, 319, 323, 325, 362, 377, 390-1, 405, 410, 420, 425, 457, 471, 476, 487, 539, 548, 561, 578, 667, 668, 680, 683
- fricatives, 116, 150-6
- /ð/ before synizesis, 154-5
- before nasals, 155-6
- intervocalic, 151-4, 312, 315, 427, 431, 574, 863, 1034, 1291, 1354-5
- nasals, 117, 156-61
- before fricatives, 125, 159-61
- before stops, 125, 156-9, 1459, 1460, 1497, 1557, 1566, 1568, 1611, 1700, 1702, 1706, 1757
- word-initial, 120, 143
- consonantization, 7, 16-17, 22, 24, 99, 101-2, 103, 112, 115, 116, 126, 130, 187, 192, 199, 212. *See also* synizesis
- constituent order, 2022-40
- focalization, 1973-4, 1980, 2022-3, 2025-6
- in clauses, 2026
- in phrases, 2026
- neutral, 2022
- position of clitic pronouns, 2026
- with gerunds, 2031
- with imperatives, 2031
- with periphrastic verb forms, 2038
- with simple verb forms, 2026-38
- topicalization, 2022-5
- left-dislocation, 2023-4, 2029
- right-dislocation, 2025
- simple, 2024

verb attraction

- to adverbial, 2029
- to focal constituent, 2023, 2025, 2027, 2028
- to interrogative constituent, 1879, 1880, 1966, 2023, 2027, 2028
- to modal conjunction, 2023, 2027, 2028
- to non-modal conjunction, 2023, 2028
- to relative constituent, 2023, 2027, 2028
- word order
- in definite noun phrases, 1972-4, 1980, 1981-2
- in indefinite noun phrases, 1976-9, 1980
- constituents
- direct object, 1927, 1929, 1934, 1937, 1947-8, 1949, 1957
- subject of passive verb, 1929
- indirect object, 1927, 1948, 1949-50
- genitive, 1949, 1957-8
- prep. phrase, 1949, 1950, 1957, 1958
- subject of passive verb, 1929
- object predicate, 1864-5, 2038
- predicate, 1927, 2022, 2023
- subject, 1863-4, 1929, 1934, 1937, 1945-6, 2023
- coreferential, 1915, 1916-17, 1942
- omission of, 1863, 1888-9, 1910, 1913, 1915, 1920, 1927, 1946
- non-coreferential, 1888, 1890, 1913, 1915, 1916-17
- subject predicate, 1863, 1864
- control predicates. *See* clauses, complement clauses
- coordination, 2008-17
- additive, 2008-12, 2014-16
- replacing subordination, 1886, 1889-90, 1893, 1897-8, 1900-1, 1919-20, 1969
- adversative/contrastive, 2012-13, 2016
- asyndeton, 2011, 2016
- comparative/equative, 2010
- disjunctive, 2011, 2013-14, 2016-17
- of clauses and sentences, 2008-12
- with ellipsis, 2010-11
- of sub-clausal constituents, 2014-17
- coreferentiality. *See* constituents, subject
- crasis, 10, 79, 98, 110-11, 863, 951, 1096, 1289, 1412
- Cyrillic. *See* writing system, foreign scripts
- dative. *See* case
- definiteness, 1964, 1965, 2020
- pragmatic, 1970, 1971
- semantic, 1970-1
- degemination, xxx, 125, 132, 133, 140, 159, 174, 175, 206
- deletion. *See* consonant deletion and vowel deletion
- deletion of /j/. *See* phonemes, semivowel /j/
- depalatalization. *See* consonant changes
- deponent verbs. *See* verbs

determiners. *See* pronouns and determinersdevoicing. *See* consonant changesdialects. *See* regional variationdiglossia, xvii, 125. *See also* register

diminutives, 255, 357, 459, 464, 493, 592, 609, 610, 778, 779, 785-6, 794

diphthongization, 14, 23, 79, 84, 100, 1368

diphthongs. *See* phonemesdirect object. *See* constituents

direct speech, 1884

introduced by $\delta\tau\iota$, 1969dissimilation. *See* consonant changes and vowel changesdouble consonants. *See* geminationenclisis. *See* stressepenthesis. *See* consonant additionexclamations. *See* clauses, main

factivity, 1881, 1886-7, 1890-1, 1899, 1919, 1967-8

final /n/ and /s/. *See* consonant addition and consonant deletionfocalization. *See* constituent orderFrench, xx, xxvi, 8-9, 181, 199, 245, 585. *See also* Occitan and loanwordsfricative interchange, fricativization. *See* consonant changesfuture, future perfect. *See* tense

gemination, 113-19, 124, 130-42, 181

after assimilation of /n/, 131, 134-5, 138-41, 159, 174

etymological, 132-3

in loanwords, 133-4, 140

spontaneous, 135-42, 223, 802, 817, 821, 897, 1188, 1286, 1294, 1374, 1450, 1752, 1789, 1790

gender, 241, 1944. *See also* agreement

biological, 1945

change of, 256, 298-9, 305, 400, 453, 463-4, 532, 584, 589, 593, 661-4, 685

grammatical, 1945

in coordinated expressions, 1945

genitive. *See* case and grammatical functions, adjuncts

gerund, 1269, 1271, 1434, 1682, 1696-709, 1927, 1928, 1932, 1939, 1940-1, 1946, 2031

aorist, 1311, 1347, 1697, 1705-9, 1915, 1940, 1941

equivalent to temporal clause, 1917

from passive stem, 1697, 1707

in periphrastic verbal forms, 1271, 1272, 1818, 1826-7, 1830, 1833, 1840, 1843, 1939

of $\epsilon\lambda\mu\alpha\iota$, 1753-8

gerund (cont.)

- as causal/temporal conjunction, 1755, 1756, 1918
- present, 1275, 1697, 1705, 1915, 1940–1
 - aspectually neutral, 1915
 - of deponent verbs, 1699, 1701–2, 1915, 1940
 - with gen. subject, 1916–17
 - with nom. subject, 1916
- glide absorption, formation. *See* synizesis
- grammatical functions
- adjuncts
 - accusative, 1953–7
 - cognate object, 1956–7
 - in intensifying reduplicated expression, 1956
 - of exclamation, 1956
 - of interest, 1951
 - of respect/specification, 1954–6
 - of space/extent/measure, 1953
 - of time, 1953–4
 - distributive, 1954
- adverbial clauses. *See* clauses
- adverbial nominal phrases, 1927, 1953–7, 1959–61
- adverbs and adverb phrases, 1927, 2003–7
- clausal, 1884, 1896–926
- genitive, 1959–61
 - medium of communication, 1960
 - of description/measure, 1961
 - of interest, 1951
 - of place/time, 1959
 - of possession/belonging, 1960
 - used predicatively, 1960
 - of reason/cause, 1959
 - used absolutely, 1959
 - of specification, 1960–1
- prepositions and prepositional phrases, 1927, 1993–2003
 - adverb + gen., 2006–7
 - agentive, 1929
 - governing a nominalized inf., 1925
 - indirect object, 1949, 1950, 1957, 1958
 - with a governing adverb, 2003–5
- See also* case
- complements
 - adjectival/nominal, 1864–5, 1945
 - clausal, 1884–94
 - infinitival, 1887–8, 1891, 1892, 1895, 1942
 - nominalized, 1888, 1891, 1892, 1925
 - replaced by *vá* + subj., 1888–9, 1892
- of nouns, 1963–9
 - clausal, 1965–9
 - nominalized, 1966
 - partitive gen., 1964–5
 - replaced by prep. phrase, 1965
 - subjective and objective gen., 1963–4

- replaced by prep. phrase, 1964
- prepositions and prepositional phrases
 - governing a nominalized inf., 1925
 - See also* clauses, complement clauses
- graphemes, xii, xiv, xix, xx, xxi, xviii, clxvii, clxix
- half-central vowels /æ/ and /ɑ/. *See* vowel changes, regional differentiation, coalescence
- Hebrew. *See* writing system, foreign scripts
- height dissimilation, 99, 106, 107, 108, 199, 408, 413, 462, 517, 686, 756. *See also* synizesis
- hiatus and hiatus resolution, xxi, 79–94, 848, 851, 950, 951, 1580
- high vowel deletion. *See* vowel deletion
- hypercorrection, 75, 79, 114, 203, 225, 375, 452, 463, 620, 637, 638, 720, 922, 953, 969, 973, 979, 980, 1025, 1046, 1088, 1101, 1107, 1123, 1134–5, 1136, 1156, 1201, 1240, 1324, 1329, 1996
- in double consonants, 132
- of back vowel raising, 31, 32, 378, 1731, 1733
- of fricative deletion, 153, 154, 156, 207, 213–14
- of fricativization, 209
- of height dissimilation, 108
- of high vowel deletion, 43
- of intervocalic [y] deletion, 144, 146
- of liquid interchange, 214, 215, 216
- of manner dissimilation, 185, 190, 192–3, 1276, 1318, 1322, 1329, 1749
- of mid vowel raising, 27, 31, 32, 69, 1636
- of nasal deletion, 149, 166, 171, 175, 184, 205, 850, 1130, 1499, 1534, 1616
- of occlusion, 211
- of palatalization of /l/, 20
- of raising vocalism, 33, 35, 669, 848, 1445, 1507, 1549, 1552, 1651
- of strong velar palatalization, 196
- of synizesis, 100, 107, 144, 436, 444, 515
- imparisyllabic plural, 246, 254, 255, 256, 301–4, 306, 322, 324, 349, 350, 355, 356, 360, 365, 381, 383, 384, 388, 401, 423, 427, 430, 450, 453, 456, 458, 467, 469, 471, 481, 483, 493, 533, 539, 544, 551, 569, 579, 585, 645, 762, 1030
- imperative. *See* mood
- imperfect. *See* tense
- indeclinable forms. *See* adjectives; nouns; participles and pronouns
- indefiniteness, 1974–80
- indicative. *See* mood

- indirect object. *See* constituents
- infinitive, 1269, 1271, 1347, 1434, 1681–96, 1795, 1927, 1928, 1932, 1939, 1942–3, 1946
- aorist, 1373, 1689–96, 1866–8, 1871, 1872, 1887
 - contracted forms, 1690
 - verbs with barytone and oxytone forms, 1513, 1693–6
- dominance of /i(n)/ ending, 1682
- nominalized, 1888, 1891, 1892
 - governed by a preposition, 1925
 - complementing adjectives, 1925
- in final clauses, 1897
- temporal, 1913–14, 1943
- with control verbs, 1943
- of εἶπα, 1750–3
- present, 1275, 1305, 1682–9, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1872, 1873, 1887, 1892
 - demise of, 1682, 1686, 1868, 1873
 - of residual O-stems, 1685, 1686, 1689
- replaced by *vá* + subj., 1773, 1779, 1869, 1872, 1888–9, 1891, 1892, 1925
- substantivized, 609–10, 687
- with aspectual/modal verbs, 1943
- with clitic pronouns, 2038
- with control verbs, 1887–8, 1895, 1942
- See also* periphrastic tenses and moods
- irrational nasal, spirant. *See* consonant addition
- Italian, xxvi, 8–9, 119, 123, 149, 194, 199, 205, 211, 275, 287, 307, 325, 377, 438, 440, 441, 462, 579, 580, 582, 583, 585, 605, 729, 785, 1139, 1377, 1682, 1755, 1756, 1758, 1779, 1813, 1817, 1841, 1857. *See also* Venetian and loanwords
- Kretschmer's Law. *See* vowel deletion, syncope
- labialization. *See* vowel changes
- language contact, 8–9, 31, 39, 119, 124, 181, 205, 210, 211, 791–4, 972, 1106, 1139, 1755–6, 1779, 1813, 1817–18, 1821, 1832–3, 1857, 1937–8. *See also* loanwords
- Latin. *See* loanwords and writing system, foreign scripts
- law of limitation. *See* stress
- left-dislocation. *See* constituent order, topicalization
- legalese. *See* register
- liquid interchange. *See* consonant changes
- loanwords, xxxi, 23, 37, 42, 71, 114, 119, 120, 125, 133–4, 154, 159, 185, 201, 215, 243, 255, 279, 282, 304, 355, 356, 357, 452, 459, 481, 482, 484, 493, 534, 536, 592, 610, 611, 633, 678, 778, 779, 782, 783
- Arabic/Persian, 121, 356
- Latin, 64, 114, 121, 303, 435, 579, 610, 611, 727, 791, 1360
- morphological adaptation of, 261, 356, 358–9, 536, 575, 579, 582, 583, 585, 779, 792–3, 1356–61
- Occitan/Old French, 8, 114, 121, 124, 133–4, 207, 356, 427, 435, 460, 461, 569, 570, 585, 663, 685–6, 791–4, 1359–60, 1397, 1755–6, 1784
- Romanian, 1360
- shortened forms of, 591
- Slavonic, 121, 303
- Turkish, 114, 122, 124, 134, 207, 302, 303, 305, 358, 402, 427, 434, 458, 585, 611, 685–6, 1360, 1397
- Venetian/Italian, 8, 114, 121, 124, 133, 207, 208, 254, 303, 356, 402, 427, 435, 458, 459, 461, 569, 570, 575, 579, 585, 661, 685–6, 705, 731, 791–4, 1272, 1356–9, 1360, 1366, 1397, 1766, 1818, 1823, 1824–5, 1831, 1837–8, 1843, 1847
- lowering. *See* vowel changes
- manner dissimilation. *See* consonant changes
- merger of /y/ and /i/. *See* phonemes, vowels
- metathesis. *See* consonant changes
- modal verbs. *See* verbs
- modality, 1768–9, 1866, 1879, 1930–1
 - deontic, 1380, 1771, 1775, 1778, 1779, 1782, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1793, 1796, 1802, 1812, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1872, 1876, 1877, 1891, 1892, 1930
- epistemic/inferential, 1842, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1930
- hypothetical/future, 1866–9, 1872, 1894, 1930
- modal marker *iva/vá*, 1867, 1869–70, 1873–4, 1876, 1895, 1896, 1931, 1967
- potential, 1769, 1778, 1788, 1789, 1793, 1812, 1867, 1868, 1870, 1891, 1892, 1930
- monastic archives, xxv
- mood, 1269, 1434, 1927, 1928, 1930–1
 - convergence of pres. indic. and subj., 1270, 1434, 1497–8
- imperative, 1269, 1270, 1292, 1347, 1355, 1369–70, 1375, 1378, 1382, 1434, 1647–81, 1875–6, 1878, 1927, 1930, 1932, 1940, 1961, 1975, 2013
- aorist, 1311, 1660–81
 - /a/ forms, 1672–5
 - shortened forms, 1668–9, 1672
 - substantivized, 645, 686–7
 - verbs with barytone and oxytone forms, 1514, 1675–81

mood (cont.)

- with columnar stress, 1663
- periphrastic, 1876–7
- present, 1275, 1647–60
 - /a/ forms, 1650
- residual, 1762–3
 - of εἶποι, 1749–50
- indicative, 1269, 1434, 1865, 1879, 1881, 1884, 1886, 1889, 1890, 1893, 1894, 1899, 1927, 1930, 1931, 2013, 2027, 2029
- aorist, 1270, 1311, 1613–47
 - athematic (2nd), 1614
 - influence on passive, 1613–14
 - in causal clauses, 1917
 - in comparative clauses, 1922–3, 1924
 - in complement clauses, 1894
 - in concessive clauses, 1920
 - in conditionals, 1872, 1873, 1874–5, 1882–3, 1889, 1891, 1901, 1902–3, 1904
 - in epistemic utterances, 1871
 - in main clauses, 1865
 - in temporal clauses, 1906, 1907, 1913
 - nominalized, 1914
 - Pontic, 1270, 1632, 1634, 1636, 1640, 1647
 - residual thematic (2nd), 1270, 1627–9
 - with /k/ stem, 1268, 1341–7
 - with columnar stress, 1270, 1620–1, 1622, 1639–40, 1641
- imperfect, 1275, 1531–613
 - in causal clauses, 1917
 - in comparative clauses, 1922–3, 1924
 - in concessive clauses, 1920
 - in conditionals, 1799, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1882–3, 1891, 1901–3, 1904, 1925
 - in main clauses, 1865
 - in temporal clauses, 1906, 1908, 1909
 - of εἶποι, 1728–49
 - with columnar stress, 1270, 1537
- in clausal complements, 1967–9
- present, 1275, 1434–97
 - in causal clauses, 1917
 - in comparative clauses, 1922–3
 - in concessive clauses, 1920
 - in conditionals, 1903
 - in main clauses, 1865
 - in temporal clauses, 1906, 1910
 - of εἶποι, 1709–28
 - periphrastic, 1933
 - replaces fut., 1767, 1933
- optative, 1691, 1758, 1763
- subjunctive, 1269, 1271, 1272, 1434, 1795, 1927, 1930, 1932
- aorist, 1311, 1497–531, 1908, 1909–10, 1911–13
 - replaces fut., 1767–8

- verbs with barytone and oxytone forms, 1513–31
 - replaces imp., 1671, 1680–1
 - futural, 1869, 1870
 - in causal clauses, 1918
 - in clausal complements, 1965–7
 - in clauses introduced by a prep., 1925–6
 - nominalized, 1925
 - in comparative clauses, 1923, 1924–5
 - in complement clauses, 1890–1, 1892, 1893–4
 - in conditionals, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1901, 1902
 - in consecutive clauses, 1899–900
 - in final clauses, 1896–7
 - in main clauses, 1876, 7–1879, 1880, 1881–2, 1894
 - in temporal clauses, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909–13
 - nominalized, 1913, 1914
 - loss of aspectual contrast in Pontic, 1932, 1940
 - modal, 1930–1
 - present, 1275, 1434–97, 1865, 1906, 1910–11, 1912
 - of εἶποι, 1709–28
 - replaces inf., 1773, 1779, 1869, 1870, 1872, 1888–9, 1925
- See also tense and periphrastic tenses and moods*

negation

- in clausal complements of nouns, 1966, 1967, 1968
 - in complement clauses
 - with control predicates, 1887, 1888
 - with verbs of fearing/precaution, 1893
 - in conditional clauses, 1874, 1901, 1905
 - in conjoined clauses, 2011–14, 2015–16, 2017
 - in consecutive clauses, 1899
 - in final clauses, 1896
 - in prohibitions, 1877–8
 - in questions, 1879
 - after νά, 1880
 - in statements
 - factual, 1865
 - hypothetical, 1866, 1869, 1870, 1872
 - after νά, 1867, 1870
 - in VPs with clitic pronouns, 2026, 2037–8
 - in wishes, 1881, 1882
 - with gerunds, 1915
 - with indefinite pronouns, 1976, 1978, 1980
 - with infinitives, 1942
 - with periphrastic verb forms, 1873
- See also case*
- noun phrases, 1944–5*
- definite, 1969–74
 - indefinite, 1974–80
- See also grammatical functions, adjuncts*
- nouns, 241, 253–687*
- complementation of, 1963–9

- factive nouns, 1967–8
 - nouns of declaration/belief, 1968–9
 - nouns of fear, 1967
 - with indirect questions, 1966–7
 - See also grammatical functions, complements*
 - feminine, 458–590
 - indeclinable, 479, 489, 490, 576, 589, 590
 - irregular, 589
 - in periphrastic verbal forms, 1272, 1818, 1826, 1839–40
 - indeclinable
 - neuter, 684, 685–6
 - masculine, 300–457
 - indeclinable, 318, 325, 332, 403, 411, 413, 420, 437, 452, 454
 - irregular, 452–4
 - plural of proper names, etc., 454–7
 - masculine and feminine, 255–98, 590–2
 - neuter, 592–687
 - indeclinable, 678, 684–6
 - irregular, 678–84
 - substantivized verbal forms, 609–10, 686–7
 - number, 241, 1928, 1944–5
 - majestic plural, 1945
 - See also agreement*
 - numerals, 241, 1231–63
 - cardinal, 1231–57
 - collective, 1262
 - multiplicative, 1263
 - ordinal, 1257–62
 - in fractions, 1262
 - relative, 1263
- objects. See constituents*
- Occitan, 1755. *See also French and loanwords*
- occlusion. *See consonant changes*
- optative. *See mood*
- orthography. *See writing system*
- palatalization. *See consonant changes*
- paragoge. *See vowel addition, word-final*
- parisyllabic plural, 255, 256, 300, 301, 303, 304, 313, 316, 322, 328, 329, 331, 337, 340, 355, 356, 357, 367, 368, 369, 372, 374, 375, 376, 381, 383, 387, 395, 397, 399, 452, 458, 459, 464, 472, 473, 474, 585
- participles, 808–14, 1268–9, 1795, 1917, 1928, 1932, 1941–2, 1946
 - in restricted use, 809–11
- indeclinable, 689, 809, 813
- past, borrowed from Venetian, 1272, 1818, 1824–5, 1831, 1837–8, 1843, 1847
- perfect passive, 1269, 1273, 1366–8, 1831–2, 1937
- declension, 809

- derived from aorist stem, 1273, 1311, 1366–7
 - derived from present stem, 1368
 - from loanwords, 1366
 - in periphrastic verbal forms, 1271, 1272, 1805, 1808, 1816–8, 1821–4, 1829, 1831, 1834–7, 1838–9, 1841–2, 1843, 1846, 1847, 1851, 1852, 1854, 1901, 1934, 1937–8, 1939, 1941
 - with active meaning, 1366–7
 - with added thematic vowel, 1368
 - with intrusive /s/, 1367–8
 - present passive, 1268, 1275, 1361–5
 - declension, 809
 - derived from perfective stem/other parts of speech, 1364
 - in periphrastic verbal forms, 1272, 1836, 1837
 - thematic vowels, 1362–5
 - with active meaning, 1268, 1361–2
 - used as gerunds, 1268, 1361, 1697, 1703–5, 1708, 1915, 1941
- particles*
- apodotic ἄν, 1905
 - modal ὅς, 1876, 1878, 1882, 1883, 1930
 - narrative νά, 1865
- passivization, 1361, 1929–30
- perfect. *See tense*
- periodization, xix
- periphrastic tenses and moods, 1269, 1271–2, 1767–857
- aorist indicative, 1848–51
 - εἶχα + aor. subj., 1851
 - εἶχα/ἦθελα + aor. inf., 1848–9
 - εἶχα/ἦμου + perf. pass. part., 1851
 - conditional, 1795–814, 1871–5
 - εἶχα + inf., 1803–5, 1871–3
 - εἶχα + subj., 1806, 1873
 - εἶχα νά + subj., 1805, 1873
 - εἶχα/εἶχε(ν) + aor./imperf. indic., 1806–7, 1873
 - εἶχε(ν) + subj., 1806, 1873
 - ἐμελλα νά + subj., 1801–2, 1872
 - ἐμελλε(ν) + subj., 1802
 - ἐμελλε(ν) νά + aor./imperf. indic., 1802–3
 - ἐμελλε(ν) νά + subj., 1802, 1872
 - ἐμελλετο(ν) νά + subj., 1803, 1872
 - ἐμελλον + inf., 1800–1, 1872
 - ἦθε(ν) + subj./imperf./inf., 1811–12, 1874
 - ἦθελα (νά) + aor./imperf. indic., 1811, 1874
 - ἦθελα + inf., 1807–9, 1873
 - ἦθελα + subj., 1809–10, 1873
 - ἦθελα νά + subj., 1811, 1873
 - ἦθελε(ν) + subj., 1810
 - ἦοτα + inf./νά + subj., 1813–14
 - ἦτον νά + aor./imperf./pluperf. indic., 1813
 - ἦτω/ἦμου(ν) (διὰ) νά + subj., 1812–13

periphrastic tenses and moods (cont.)

future, 1767-95, 1866-70

aspectual contrast, 1868

conflation of constructions, 1769

εἶμαι διὰ/γὰ νά + subj., 1793

εἶμαι νά + subj., 1793

εἶμαι τοῦ νά + subj., 1793

εἶναι/εἶν'εν νά + subj., 1794-5

negated, with syncope, 1795

ἔχει νά + subj., 1780, 1869

ἔχω + inf., 1778-9, 1867-8

ἔχω + subj., 1780

ἔχω νά + subj., 1779-80

θά + subj., 1791-3, 1870

θε(ν) + subj., 1786

θε(ν) νά + subj., 1790-1, 1870

θέλ' + subj., 1787

θέλα + subj., 1790

θέλει + inf., 1787

θέλει + subj., 1786-7

θέλει νά + subj., 1789-90

θέλω + inf., 1782-3, 1868

θέλω + subj., 1784-5, 1870

θέλω νά + subj., 1788-9, 1869

θέλω τοῦ νά + subj., 1789

θές, θέ(ν), etc. + inf., 1783-4

θές, θέ(ν), etc. + subj., 1786

θές, θέ(ν), etc. νά + subj., 1789

μελλά + subj., 1776

μέλλει + inf., 1776

μέλλει νά + subj., 1775-6, 1869

μέλλεται νά + subj., 1776-7, 1869

μέλλομαι + inf., 1777

μέλλομαι νά + subj., 1777

μέλλω + inf., 1772-3, 1867

μέλλω νά + subj., 1773-5

μέλλω τοῦ + inf., 1773

μέλλω/μέλλει + subj., 1776

νά + subj., 1770-1, 1870

πά (νά) + subj., 1795

future perfect, 1843-8, 1939

ἦθε(ν) + perf. inf., 1848

ἦθελα + perf. inf., 1847-8, 1939

ἦθελα/ἦθελε + pluperf., 1848

θέλω + perf. inf., 1845-7, 1939

μέλλω/μέλλει νά + perf. subj., 1848

imperfect, 1848-51

εἶχα + pres. subj., 1851

εἶχα/ἦθελα + pres. inf., 1850

ἦθελα + aor. inf., 1849-50

ἦμην + pres. part., 1851

ἦμουν + perf. pass. part., 1851

perfect, 1831-43

gerund, 1842-3

imperative, 1841-2

indicative and subjunctive, 1833-41

εἶμαι + perf. pass. part. (act.), 1838-9, 1847, 1937

εἶμαι + pres. pass. part., 1837

ἔχω + inf., 1840-1, 1938

ἔχω + pres. pass. part., 1836

ἔχω/εἶμαι + perf. pass. part., 1833-7, 1937-8

infinitive, 1842

pluperfect, 1814-30

εἶχα + inf., 1819-21, 1938

εἶχα + noun, 1826

εἶχα + subj., 1827

εἶχα/ἦμουν + perf. pass. part., 1821-5, 1937-8

εἶχα/ἦμουν + pres. gerund, 1826-7

εἶχα/ἦμουν + verbal adj., 1825-6

εἶχε(ν) + subj., 1827

ἦθε(ν) + subj., 1829

ἦθελα + inf., 1828-9, 1938

ἦθελα + subj., 1829

ἦθελε ἦμουν + perf. pass. part., 1829

ἦμην/ἦμουν + aor. gerund, 1830, 1938

ἦμουν + perf. pass. part. (act.), 1823-4, 1937

ἦτον νά + subj., 1830

subjunctive, 1852-7

εἶχα + inf., 1854

ἔχω + inf., 1853, 1869, 1874

ἔχω/εἶμαι + perf. pass. part., 1854

ἦθελα + inf., 1855

θά + subj., 1856

θε νά + subj., 1856

θέλω + inf., 1855

θέλω ἔρθει νά + subj., 1857

θέλω νά + subj., 1855

μέλλω + inf., 1856

πά (νά) + subj., 1857

*See also tense and mood*Persian. *See* loanwordsperson, 1944-5. *See also* agreement

phonemes,

consonants, 112-24

affricates, 120-4

fricatives, 115-16

liquids, 118

nasals, 116-18

sibilants, 118-20

stops, 113-15

See also consonant addition, consonant deletion and consonant changes

diphthongs, 6, 22-4

semivowel /j/, 15-22, 1270. *See also* consonant changes, anaptyxis

deletion of

analogical, 21

post-consonantal, 17-22, 1290, 1484, 1655
after /r/, 20-2in E-stem verbs, 1302-7, 1490, 1493, 1494,
1495, 1496, 1604, 1607, 1608, 1610,
1611, 1688

intrusive, 201, 1304, 1726-7

spelling of, 16-17

vowels, 9-15

merger of /y/ and /i/, 11-13

regional differentiation, 24-37, 109

coalescence

of /'eə/ to /'e/, 109

of /ɛə/, /jə/ to /æ/ and /ɛə/, /jə/ to /æ/,
28-9raising vocalism. *See* vowel changes, raising

so-called Doric /a/, 24-6

so-called Ionic /e/, 26-8

regression of /y/ to /u/, 14-15

See also vowel addition, vowel deletion and
vowel changes

phonotactics, 124-30

consonant clusters, 125-30. *See also* vowel
addition, anaptyxis and consonant
changes

position of consonants, 124-5

pluperfect. *See* tense

politeness, 895, 1796, 1798, 1944

political verse, xxi, 104, 700, 926, 1303, 1307,
1487, 1843, 1845position of consonants. *See* phonotacticspredicate. *See* constituents

prefixes

confusion of, 1392, 1419-20, 1426, 1428, 1429

prepositions and prepositional phrases.

See grammatical functions, adjunctspresent. *See* tenseproclisis. *See* stressprohibitions. *See* clauses, main

pronouns and determiners, 241, 845, 861-1230

contrastive, 1164-79

demonstrative, 915-97, 1980-2

anaphoric, 924, 953, 1980, 1981, 1982

cataphoric, 1981

deictic, 915, 924, 953, 954, 1980, 1981

qualitative, 969-88, 1982

quantitative, 988-97

spatio-temporal, 915-69, 1981-2, 2023

extended forms, 241, 867, 916, 917, 918, 921,

923, 930-40, 941, 943, 953, 954,

980, 1005, 1064, 1168, 1170, 1171,

1172, 1174, 1175

indefinite, 1023-50, 1975-80

demonstrative, 1024

negative/affective, 1023-4, 1975-6, 1978-80

positive, 1023-4

non-specific, 1024

specific, 1023, 1975, 1977-8

uninflected, 1039, 1057, 1071, 1074

intensive, 895, 900, 997-1004, 1182

interrogative, 1004-23, 1879, 1880, 1881,
1894-5

qualitative/quantitative, 1016-23

simple, 1004-16, 1879, 1880, 1966-7

uninflected, 1012, 1013-16

personal, 861-902

anaphoric, 1944, 1945

deictic, 1945

periphrastic, 862, 895, 900-2, 1000,
1182

strong, 862-76, 1993, 2008

weak, 876-95, 1879, 1880, 1915, 1967, 1993,
2003, 2006-7

in subject function, 1942, 1946

See also clitic doubling; constituent order
and resumptive pronoun

possessive, 902-14

emphatic, 910-14

residual, 914

weak, 903-10, 1944

quantifiers, 1187-230

distributive, 1166, 1214-30

uninflected, 241, 1206-8, 1214, 1218, 1227,
1228-30

universal, 1188-214

used as relative, 1988

reciprocal, 1166, 1176, 1181, 1183-6

reflexive, 895, 897, 900, 1001, 1179-83

relative, 1091-164, 1983-92

definite, 1091, 1092-139

anaphoric, 1982-3

omitted before νά, 1987-8

indefinite, 1091, 1139-64

quantitative, 1146-50

used as specifier, 1990-2

uninflected, 241, 1092-7, 1103, 1123, 1124,
1134-5, 1136, 1154, 1164protasis. *See* conditionalprothesis. *See* addition of consonants and addition
of vowelsProvençal. *See* Occitanquestions. *See* clauses, main and clauses,
complement clausesraising. *See* vowel changes

reduplication, 1273, 1344, 1366, 1762, 1765

regional variation, xxviii, xxix

Aegean, 8, 29, 33-4, 109, 130, 185, 192, 196, 247, 259, 269, 276, 289, 307, 313, 350, 405, 421, 460, 509, 512, 520, 522, 523, 528, 541, 543, 544, 570, 575, 617, 620, 641, 677, 743, 789, 816, 846, 850, 853, 863, 882, 884, 893, 1045, 1151, 1337, 1372, 1376, 1377, 1380, 1382, 1384, 1385, 1399, 1403, 1404, 1408, 1410, 1439, 1440, 1444, 1476, 1501, 1504-06, 1512, 1528, 1531, 1536, 1539, 1540, 1557, 1559, 1565, 1572, 1573, 1589, 1622, 1625, 1642, 1705, 1707, 1730, 1790, 1809, 1810, 1811, 1822, 1829, 1837, 1839, 1850, 1937

Asia Minor, 12, 28, 29, 36, 39, 114, 121, 147, 155, 159, 171, 176, 181, 192, 196, 198, 207, 219, 231-2, 743, 788, 896, 914, 1139, 1298, 1347, 1403, 1444, 1476, 1545, 1631, 1632, 1634, 1636, 1646, 1662, 1666-7, 1737, 1949

Athens, 14, 17, 18, 106, 194, 195, 196, 219, 941, 954, 988, 1403, 1580, 1628, 1736, 1752

Chios, 46, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 68, 119, 123, 124, 147, 152, 153, 192, 195, 196, 198, 201, 229-30, 371, 410, 413, 457, 462, 542, 651, 677, 739, 853, 858, 888, 918, 925, 933, 942, 954, 1001, 1014-16, 1045, 1046, 1151, 1155, 1170, 1209, 1278, 1282, 1302, 1335, 1337, 1347, 1365, 1370, 1372, 1379, 1383, 1392, 1404, 1413, 1424, 1438, 1439, 1441, 1448, 1458, 1460, 1470, 1472, 1475, 1493, 1494, 1504, 1510, 1511, 1524, 1526, 1536, 1537, 1538, 1542, 1545, 1551, 1556, 1562, 1563, 1564, 1568, 1572, 1573, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1586, 1595, 1596, 1598, 1603, 1608, 1610, 1618, 1621, 1644, 1645, 1649, 1653, 1655, 1656, 1657, 1660, 1663, 1664, 1671, 1674, 1679, 1680, 1681, 1714, 1718, 1725, 1732, 1741, 1747, 1786-7, 1835

Crete, 17, 20-2, 26, 39, 43, 46, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 65, 68, 94-5, 106, 109, 111, 122, 145, 146, 147, 151, 152, 154, 158, 161-3, 167, 171, 173-4, 175, 177, 178, 179, 180, 183-4, 194, 196, 199, 200, 201, 204, 209-10, 229-31, 252, 259, 266, 267, 269, 275, 281, 289, 294, 313, 323, 329, 338, 370, 371, 402, 404, 405,

406, 408, 411, 412, 413, 414, 417, 418, 421, 425, 435, 443, 445, 446, 448, 457, 460, 482, 483, 492, 500, 509, 512, 516, 520, 521, 522, 524, 525, 528, 539, 542, 548, 570, 575, 580, 581, 582, 584, 598, 604, 607, 612, 617, 624, 628, 629, 631, 641, 642, 651, 655, 665, 671, 672, 682, 699, 700, 704, 705, 711, 717, 726, 728, 731, 732, 734, 736, 739, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 747, 749, 750, 751, 753, 755, 756, 758, 759, 783, 784, 799, 800, 806, 807, 816, 818, 823, 824, 831, 839, 840, 842, 848, 849, 851, 864, 879, 881, 884, 885, 887, 888, 892, 893, 894, 903, 904, 905, 908, 909, 916, 918, 921, 922, 923, 930, 942, 952, 953, 954, 955, 970, 980, 981, 989, 1003, 1014-16, 1023, 1030, 1031, 1035, 1043, 1045, 1046, 1051, 1055, 1058, 1060, 1061, 1063, 1064, 1065, 1069, 1082, 1095, 1101, 1107, 1111, 1116, 1155, 1165, 1169, 1182, 1183, 1185, 1190, 1196, 1203, 1209, 1212, 1218, 1222, 1226, 1228, 1239, 1241, 1247, 1256, 1259, 1260, 1272, 1277, 1279, 1286, 1290, 1294, 1309, 1319, 1322-4, 1325, 1326, 1329, 1331, 1336, 1337, 1338, 1347, 1350, 1357, 1365, 1367, 1371, 1372, 1374, 1377, 1380, 1385, 1388, 1389, 1392-3, 1403, 1438, 1439, 1442, 1451, 1454, 1470, 1505, 1510, 1512, 1512, 1524, 1528, 1529, 1531, 1534, 1536, 1537, 1542, 1545, 1551, 1553, 1553, 1554, 1555, 1557, 1562, 1567, 1568, 1572, 1573, 1586, 1595, 1596, 1598, 1599, 1602, 1603, 1610, 1616, 1642, 1644, 1645, 1667, 1699, 1714, 1721, 1725, 1731, 1732, 1736, 1740, 1742, 1743, 1745, 1771, 1774, 1777, 1791, 1822, 1826, 1829, 1835, 1840, 1850, 1856, 1869, 1898, 1935, 1937, 1938, 1966, 1983, 1985, 2013, 2016, 2039. *See also* south-west

Cyclades, 17, 18, 20, 39, 46, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 65, 68, 84, 111, 119, 122, 123, 124, 144, 145, 147, 151, 152, 167, 171, 173-4, 175, 177, 178, 179, 180, 183, 184, 196, 204, 229-31, 243, 247, 265, 266, 271, 276, 281, 282, 284, 289, 294, 297, 319, 333, 339, 352, 362, 364, 366, 369, 371, 375, 396, 467, 469, 475,

482, 500, 508, 519, 522, 570, 607, 612, 624, 627, 628, 629, 631, 652, 654, 655, 670, 704, 737, 739, 741, 742, 744, 745, 751, 759, 782, 784, 848, 849, 851, 853, 859, 863, 879, 887, 889, 891, 903, 904, 905, 907, 908, 909, 916, 925, 930, 933, 941, 942, 952, 954, 1014-16, 1035, 1045, 1060, 1061, 1151, 1170, 1174, 1190, 1208, 1238, 1239, 1241, 1247, 1322-4, 1329, 1335, 1338, 1347, 1379, 1381, 1382, 1392, 1403, 1410, 1425, 1442, 1449, 1451, 1485, 1505, 1542, 1545, 1551, 1553, 1555, 1562, 1568, 1573, 1581, 1582, 1603, 1611, 1618, 1645, 1702, 1741, 1747, 1755, 1786-7, 1822, 1825, 1835, 1852, 2013

Cyprus, 19-20, 66, 74, 76, 78, 105, 120, 121, 137, 144, 145, 151, 153, 180, 181-2, 192, 194, 195, 196, 198, 199, 201, 209-10, 220, 227, 231-2, 243-6, 258, 259, 270, 276, 283, 295, 312, 323, 324, 330, 338, 350, 372, 382, 387, 397, 400, 418, 421, 427, 431, 435, 443, 446, 448, 450-2, 467, 469, 482, 484, 521, 528, 532, 533, 541, 545, 558, 569, 570, 574, 575, 604, 608, 612, 620, 631, 644, 656, 699, 700, 717, 728, 730, 731, 734, 739, 741, 743, 762, 801, 802, 804, 812, 816, 817, 818, 821, 839, 841, 851, 867, 889, 896, 897, 900, 901, 916, 925, 930, 933, 942, 951, 969, 979, 980, 989, 993, 1009, 1014-16, 1043, 1058, 1060, 1067, 1091, 1107, 1111, 1146, 1151, 1155, 1165, 1181, 1188, 1190, 1191, 1193, 1209, 1218, 1239, 1260, 1271, 1277, 1279, 1286, 1294, 1296-7, 1299, 1309, 1318, 1322-4, 1329, 1331, 1333, 1338, 1363, 1365, 1372, 1374, 1376, 1377, 1381, 1382, 1389, 1392, 1396, 1413, 1424, 1450-1, 1468, 1477, 1512, 1536, 1568, 1577, 1582, 1589, 1618, 1626, 1638, 1642, 1643, 1645, 1655, 1666-7, 1699, 1700, 1721, 1734, 1742, 1745, 1752, 1753, 1756, 1771, 1789, 1790, 1794, 1813, 1835, 1856, 1869, 1898, 1908, 1912, 1922, 1935, 1937, 1966, 1983, 1985, 2013, 2016, 2029, 2039, 2040. *See also* south-east

Dodecanese, 36, 39, 52, 123, 124, 131, 275, 281, 417, 739, 741, 747, 802, 824, 853,

863, 888, 908, 1035, 1403, 1439, 1453, 1568-9, 1611-12, 1723, 1937. *See also* south-east

Heptanese, 46, 47, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 65, 111, 124, 144, 146, 151, 152, 184-5, 192, 199, 205, 229-31, 259, 266, 267, 269, 270, 278, 281, 295, 307, 314, 319, 323, 331, 338, 350, 372, 405, 417, 418, 421, 482, 488, 492, 521, 522, 524, 528, 536, 569, 575, 580, 581, 582, 584, 598, 607, 620, 641, 642, 656, 665, 671, 693, 695, 700, 704, 705, 731, 732, 734, 739, 742, 743, 744, 745, 747, 755, 756, 759, 765, 797, 799, 805, 849, 854, 859, 864, 865, 867, 881, 889, 893, 894, 909, 918, 921, 923, 925, 926, 928, 929, 941, 952, 954, 1014-16, 1029, 1035, 1046, 1048, 1050, 1058, 1060, 1061, 1064, 1111, 1134, 1151, 1155, 1165, 1169, 1172, 1185, 1188, 1190, 1194, 1201, 1203, 1208, 1209, 1211, 1212, 1213, 1239, 1241, 1279, 1290, 1298, 1299, 1300, 1319, 1322-4, 1329, 1338, 1347, 1365, 1372, 1377, 1382, 1385, 1389, 1392, 1396, 1403, 1404, 1405, 1424, 1438, 1439, 1442, 1454, 1467, 1493, 1503, 1505, 1536, 1545, 1552, 1553, 1554, 1556, 1557-9, 1560, 1566, 1567, 1568-9, 1570, 1573, 1574, 1577, 1579, 1582, 1596, 1597, 1598, 1601, 1603, 1604, 1605, 1610, 1611-12, 1618, 1645, 1648, 1652, 1655, 1656, 1658, 1684, 1737, 1742, 1743, 1745, 1745, 1747, 1771, 1777, 1786-7, 1792, 1798, 1806, 1811, 1829, 1835, 1837, 1850, 1852, 1854, 1855, 1857, 1874, 1937. *See also* south-west

northern mainland, 7-8, 9, 10, 17, 18, 20, 29, 31-3, 43, 69, 111, 147, 151, 152, 185, 192, 201, 202, 230-1, 246, 295, 314, 387, 431, 460, 575, 644, 669, 719, 734, 739, 742, 743, 747, 798, 847, 850, 853, 867, 868, 871, 872, 888, 908, 910, 911, 933, 954, 1029, 1034, 1172, 1222, 1239, 1247, 1251, 1255, 1260, 1277, 1284, 1293, 1296-7, 1299-300, 1337, 1379, 1380, 1391-2, 1396, 1404, 1451, 1545, 1554, 1559, 1578, 1582, 1603, 1604, 1612, 1621, 1626, 1666-7, 1670, 1702, 1713, 1734, 1735, 1737, 1739, 1743, 1745, 1792, 1852, 1949, 1951

regional variation (cont.)

- Phrygians, 14, 46, 49, 51, 53, 55, 56, 58, 74, 111, 121, 146, 147, 333, 354-52, 177, 178, 182, 195, 198, 281, 284, 295, 377, 460, 551, 569, 570, 571, 622, 623, 656, 695, 705, 742, 851, 853, 864, 865, 885, 887, 889, 891, 909, 923, 954, 1061, 1107, 1111, 1116, 1151, 1172, 1188, 1290, 1298, 1299, 1302, 1347, 1365, 1382, 1387, 1403, 1413, 1439, 1442, 1451, 1456, 1505, 1545, 1554, 1557-9, 1560, 1563, 1566, 1567, 1568-9, 1570, 1574, 1574, 1576, 1578, 1579, 1581, 1582, 1597, 1599, 1602, 1603, 1608, 1611-12, 1621, 1628, 1643, 1670, 1706, 1714, 1738, 1745, 1786-7, 1830, 1850. *See also* south-west
- Pontos/Black Sea area, 7, 10, 25, 26, 28-9, 35-6, 82, 94-5, 106, 107, 114, 151, 152, 162, 174, 182, 195, 201, 207, 208, 231-2, 243, 246, 247-8, 264, 283, 290, 295, 318, 456, 645, 741, 818, 848, 852, 883, 907, 925, 933, 1103, 1286, 1458, 1460, 1636, 1637, 1640, 1662, 1666-7, 1673, 1752, 1932, 1940
- S. Italy/Sicily, 15, 25-6, 29, 31, 34-5, 104, 106, 107, 119, 123, 130, 137-42, 147, 149, 151, 152, 156, 162, 163, 176, 180, 196, 205, 210, 211-12, 254, 309, 405, 411, 417, 422, 423, 434, 457, 462, 477, 575, 584, 644, 719, 730, 736, 739, 747, 759, 764, 771, 784, 850, 857, 867, 870, 872, 910, 913, 914, 942, 987, 1029, 1034, 1058, 1093, 1098, 1106, 1107, 1111, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1138-9, 1156, 1193, 1201, 1202, 1203, 1206, 1247, 1260, 1282, 1476, 1490, 1582, 1638, 1662, 1692, 1713, 1714, 1722, 1752, 1817-18, 1821, 1825, 1826, 1830, 1832-3, 1834, 1852, 1856, 1937, 1938, 1957, 1983, 1987
- south-east, 39, 84, 114, 130-42, 147, 151, 152, 153, 156, 157, 159, 174, 181, 192, 196, 203, 207, 213, 227, 303, 457, 648, 663, 677, 690, 737, 803, 816, 909, 999, 1095, 1107, 1111, 1188, 1196, 1316, 1372, 1379, 1380, 1385, 1389, 1399, 1424, 1447, 1468, 1490, 1563, 1565, 1568, 1644, 1721, 1746, 1755, 1756, 1776-7, 1790, 1795, 1817-18, 1821, 1828-9, 1832-3, 1834, 1937-8, 1951, 1957

south-west, 17, 18, 20, 24, 26, 36, 47, 48, 51, 52,

- 57, 100, 151, 152, 184, 190, 234, 250, 271, 279, 282, 283, 284, 289, 290, 311, 322, 330, 336, 350, 457, 460, 477, 478, 480, 508, 524, 533, 534, 535, 534, 569, 580, 587, 589, 650, 677, 681, 699, 734, 747, 785, 849, 851, 853, 859, 860, 882, 888, 889, 891, 907, 923, 942, 954, 1181, 1188, 1251, 1280, 1284, 1302, 1311, 1319, 1335, 1371, 1376, 1379, 1380, 1399, 1410, 1444, 1447, 1453, 1455, 1474, 1490, 1506, 1512, 1528, 1529, 1531, 1545, 1547, 1550, 1554, 1558, 1562, 1563, 1573, 1585, 1589, 1596, 1598, 1601, 1611, 1624, 1625, 1638, 1642, 1645, 1661, 1690, 1702, 1705, 1707, 1708, 1713, 1715, 1716, 1718, 1722, 1725, 1726-7, 1730, 1731, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1741, 1744, 1745, 1747, 1752, 1755, 1776-7, 1790, 1803, 1806, 1817-18, 1821, 1823, 1824, 1825, 1827, 1828-9, 1832-3, 1834, 1835, 1839, 1852, 1872, 1873, 1937-8, 1951, 1957

Tsakonia, 26, 196

- western mainland, 29, 32, 43, 185, 196, 230-1, 460, 508, 642, 742, 744, 1209, 1296-7, 1347, 1348, 1382, 1405, 1451, 1467, 1545, 1554, 1556, 1560, 1567, 1612, 1626

register

- higher-register features, xxi, 82, 83, 89, 102, 109, 118, 124, 160, 164, 177, 185, 232, 241-3, 256, 257, 318, 321, 323, 325, 329, 332, 336, 339, 341, 363, 374, 378, 379, 396, 398, 407, 411, 420, 476, 481, 484, 485, 493, 501, 502, 515, 518, 527, 541, 544, 550, 551, 557, 559, 561, 562, 565, 633, 673, 689, 694, 705, 706, 712, 713, 718, 721, 723, 724, 737, 760, 800, 805, 806, 832, 842, 857, 871, 953, 969, 972, 988, 997, 1009, 1042, 1049, 1051, 1054, 1123, 1130, 1151, 1155, 1165, 1175, 1176, 1183, 1199, 1203, 1214, 1226, 1246, 1253, 1262, 1278, 1369, 1388, 1417, 1419, 1420, 1422, 1429, 1449, 1488, 1542, 1597, 1630, 1682, 1692, 1697, 1753, 1754, 1758, 1759, 1762, 1772, 1773, 1851, 1900, 1905, 1915, 1925, 1941, 1946, 1952, 1961-2, 1980, 1983, 1986-7
- legalese, 1798, 1847, 1852, 1854, 1855, 1939
- mixture of registers, xvii, xx, 243

- vernacular, xvii, xviii, xix, xxii, xxiv, xxv, xxxi, xxxiv, 95, 125, 150, 176, 196, 212, 222, 241, 570, 578, 579, 830, 845, 857, 1034, 1042, 1108, 1109, 1122, 1214, 1261, 1295, 1442, 1453, 1505, 1729, 1772, 1894, 1895, 1915, 1924, 1956, 1968, 1970, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1980, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1996, 2008

relative attraction. *See* pronouns and determiners

relativization, 1092-4, 1103-4, 1105, 1122

resumptive pronoun, 1129, 1161. *See also* clitic doubling

rhetorical questions. *See* clauses, main, questions

Romanian. *See* loanwords

semivowel /j/. *See* phonemes

Slavonic, 459. *See also* loanwords

sonority scale. *See* vowel hierarchy

spelling. *See* writing system

statements. *See* clauses, main

stress, 222-37

- columnar, 223-4, 228, 229, 230-1, 233, 234, 235, 688, 692, 1270, 1343, 1444, 1537, 1620-1, 1622, 1639-40, 1641, 1663

enclisis, 224, 225-8, 903, 1013, 1723

in derivation and composition, 235-7, 304

law of limitation, 47, 224-5

- exceptions to, 228-32, 651, 1452-3, 1533, 1569, 1615, 1618-19, 1621

- second stress, 224, 226, 227, 228, 229, 231, 235, 639, 1303, 1452, 1454, 1456, 1460, 1554, 1559, 1561, 1562, 1617, 1620, 1622, 1639, 1641, 1644, 1648, 1663

proclisis, 224, 225-7, 590-2, 1092

- shift of, 99, 199, 222, 223, 225, 232-7, 249-52, 255, 257, 274, 288, 293, 295, 298, 303, 314, 329, 333, 343, 348, 349, 351, 358, 359-60, 369, 381, 388, 395, 396, 398, 410, 439, 444, 446, 458, 459, 460, 478, 481, 492, 496, 497, 500, 501, 505, 508, 509, 513, 515, 516, 523, 527, 529, 542, 550, 567, 594, 601, 604, 606, 608, 609, 615, 618, 619, 620, 624, 629, 632, 633, 637, 638, 641, 642, 644, 651, 653, 655, 659, 660, 662, 675, 676, 677, 679, 711, 713, 717, 728, 758, 760, 775, 919, 925, 930, 942, 954, 1088, 1111, 1121, 1140, 1141, 1151, 1170, 1172, 1175, 1178, 1188, 1194, 1203, 1205, 1213, 1216, 1222, 1228, 1244, 1305, 1309, 1343, 1363, 1377, 1397, 1406, 1414, 1424, 1439, 1442,

- 1490, 1491, 1497, 1525, 1533, 1536, 1539, 1546, 1548, 1550, 1551, 1553, 1555, 1558, 1559, 1565, 1566, 1568, 1595, 1596, 1598, 1616, 1617, 1619, 1624, 1632, 1634, 1636, 1644, 1667, 1676, 1677, 1680, 1687, 1697, 1699, 1702, 1706, 1766

- absence of, 224, 288, 294, 296, 350, 370, 439, 445, 447, 482, 497, 500, 501, 505, 515, 550, 558, 568, 601, 606, 632, 633, 642, 652, 659, 672, 675, 676, 714, 717, 1176, 1557, 1618, 1643

subject. *See* constituents

subjunctive. *See* mood

substantivization

- of adjectives, 533, 542, 592, 757, 762, 778, 807, 838

- of numerals, 1258, 1260, 1261, 1262

- of phrases, 262, 593

- of pronouns, 910, 913, 1039, 1204

- of verbal forms, 454, 589, 609-10, 645, 686-7, 1705

suffixation, 45, 52

- surnames, 255, 306, 357, 369, 402, 406, 422, 424, 570

plural formation, 454-7

Pontic

feminine, 287, 290

masculine, 247-8, 377, 400, 456

syncope. *See* vowel deletion

syncretism. *See* case

- synzesis, 6, 7, 9, 11, 15, 16, 20, 21, 79, 82, 84, 98-110, 112, 115, 116, 144, 154, 198, 199, 201, 209, 232, 256, 258, 259, 401, 402, 405, 408, 410, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 418, 421, 435, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 459, 460, 462, 508, 509, 511, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 529, 532, 536, 555, 566, 574, 612, 613, 615, 616, 618, 619, 620, 624, 626, 627, 629, 631, 638, 639, 640, 643, 644, 662, 686, 688, 705, 711, 712, 713, 728, 730, 731, 734, 736, 745, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 788, 815, 816, 822, 823, 824, 835, 855, 1004, 1047, 1063, 1107, 1112, 1116, 1151, 1165, 1181, 1224, 1225, 1226, 1238, 1240, 1248, 1249, 1251, 1256, 1289-90, 1293, 1303, 1305, 1377, 1399, 1467, 1482, 1487, 1576, 1580, 1655, 1661, 1687, 1700

and accent notation, 249-52

and spelling, 16-17, 102, 199-200, 438, 639

and stress, 223

synizesis (cont.)

- glide absorption, 7, 99, 101
- glide formation, 99, 100, 682, 705, 710
- metrical, 100-1, 518, 520, 531, 1239
- regional, 106-10
- See also* consonantization

tense, 1269

- aorist, 1269, 1272, 1935-7
 - expressing anteriority in the past, 1814-15, 1936-7
 - used as perfect, 1831
 - future, 1271, 1866-70
 - aspectual contrast, 1772, 1774, 1775, 1778, 1779, 1782, 1866
 - lack of, 1772, 1868
 - modal, 1768-9, 1771, 1775, 1778, 1779, 1782, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1793, 1867, 1869, 1870, 1877
 - future perfect, 1272, 1937, 1939
 - omission of fut. marker, 1844, 1846
 - replaced by perfect, 1846
 - stative, 1939
 - imperfect, 1269, 1272, 1934-5
 - expressing a past state of the subject/object, 1934
 - expressing anteriority in the past, 1814-15
 - habitual, 1934, 1935
 - progressive, 1934
 - stative, 1934, 1935
 - perfect, 1272, 1934, 1937
 - influence from Romance, 1832-3, 1937-8
 - re-emergence in LMedG, 1832
 - replacing future perfect, 1846
 - residual, 1761-2
 - stative, 1831-2, 1939, 1941
 - pluperfect, 1271, 1934, 1937-9
 - anteriority in the past, 1815-17, 1819, 1908, 1937, 1938
 - aspectual contrast, 1939
 - lack of, 1939
 - develops from conditional, 1815-16, 1901, 1938
 - habitual, 1820-1, 1828, 1935
 - influence from Romance, 1817-18, 1937-8
 - residual, 1761-2
 - stative, 1816, 1817, 1818, 1851, 1938, 1939, 1941
- present, 1269, 1932-4
- expressing a present state of the subject/object, 1933-4
 - habitual, 1934
 - historic, 1933
 - progressive, 1932-3
 - stative, 1932, 1933
 - with future reference, 1933

- sequence of, 1884, 1885, 1894, 1931
- See also* mood and periphrastic tenses and moods
- thematic vowels. *See* verbs
- time reference, 1927, 1928, 1931
- future, 1901-3, 1939-40
 - generic, 1901, 3-1903
 - past, 1904-5, 1907-9, 1934-9
 - present, 1903-4, 1932-4
- topicalization. *See* constituent order
- tsitakismos. *See* consonant changes, affrication
- Turkish, 39, 355, 398, 424, 585, 1360. *See also* loanwords

/u/ dynamic. *See* verbs

- univerbation, 43, 65, 227, 838, 845, 1013, 1034, 1040, 1057, 1058, 1067, 1069, 1070, 1076, 1082, 1087, 1090, 1091, 1161, 1208, 1216, 1217, 1218, 1226, 1227, 1228, 1270, 1466, 1771, 1790, 1792, 1795, 1898

Venetian, 124, 209, 212, 605, 1358, 1817. *See also* Italian and loanwordsvernacular. *See* registerverb attraction. *See* constituent order

verb phrases, 1927-43

verbal aspect, 1927, 1928, 1931, 1932

- imperfective, 1768, 1855, 1868, 1871, 1875, 1877, 1891, 1901, 1906, 1912, 1932-5, 1942
 - habitual/repeated, 1907, 1908, 1910, 1932, 1934, 1935
 - progressive, 1890, 1909, 1910-11, 1932-3, 1934
 - stative, 1933, 4-1934
- in clauses of indefinite frequency, 1932
- in gerunds, 1915, 1940-1
- in imperatives, 1876, 1878
- in infinitives, 1942-3
- in participles, 1915, 1941
- in periphrastic forms, 1866-70, 1871-5, 1937-9
- in subjunctives, 1876-9
- loss of aspectual contrast, 1286, 1375, 1759, 1867, 1868, 1915, 1931, 1939, 1940, 1942
- perfective, 1768, 1868, 1871, 1875, 1901, 1906, 1908, 1935-7
- initiating a state, 1936
- repeated events, 1907, 1912-13
- single event, 1890, 1909-10, 1911-12, 1913-14, 1932, 1935-6

verbs

- /u/-dynamic, 1307, 1434
- aspectual, 1855, 1891, 1892-3, 1942, 1943
- auxiliary

- impersonal use, 1742, 1771, 1772, 1775-77, 1778, 1780, 1782, 1786-7, 1789-90, 1794-5, 1802, 1803, 1806, 1810, 1812, 1813, 1827, 1869, 1871, 1872, 1873
 - with past-tense complementation, 1802-3, 1806-7, 1811, 1813, 1872, 1873, 1874
 - ειμαι, 1793-5, 1812-13, 1823-4, 1825, 1827, 1830, 1836-7, 1838-9, 1851
 - εχω, 1271, 1777-80, 1795, 1803-7, 1819-27, 1831-43, 1848-51, 1852-4
 - θελω, 1271, 1781-91, 1795, 1807-12, 1828-9, 1843, 1848-52, 1854-6
 - shortened forms, 1783-4, 1786, 1787, 1789, 1790-1, 1811-12, 1829, 1856
 - μελλω, 1271, 1771-7, 1795, 1800-3, 1848, 1856
 - absolute use, 1774-5, 1777
 - See also* periphrastic tenses and moods
- common set of past-tense endings, 1270, 1273, 1531, 1532, 1613, 1615
- conjugation, 1434-766
- control, 1753, 1886, 1887, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1895, 1931, 1942, 1965
- deponent, 1268, 1273, 1310, 1330, 1331, 1334, 1356, 1361, 1362, 1381, 1384, 1386, 1392, 1451, 1482, 1491, 1492, 1598, 1605, 1630, 1636, 1667, 1699, 1701-2, 1760, 1823, 1824, 1837, 1838, 1843, 1846, 1929, 1937
- active forms of, 1381, 1915
- ditransitive, 1927, 1928, 1957
- factive, 1887, 1890-1
- impersonal, 1466, 1869, 1891, 1913, 1915, 1951
- intransitive, 1927, 1929, 1937, 1949, 1954
- transitive use, 1957
- in periphrastic forms, 1823, 1824, 1835-6, 1837, 1845
- modal, 1869, 1891-2, 1899, 1930, 1943
- of hindrance, 1894
- of motion, 1650, 1672-5, 1805, 1817, 1823-4, 1827, 1833, 1838, 1848
- performative, 1933
- personal, 1869, 1891
- stative, 1775, 1801, 1804, 1806, 1813, 1872, 1873, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935
- stem formation, 1273-393
- imperfective, 1267-8, 1275-311
 - addition of /y/, 1284
 - affixation, 1267, 1294-8, 1301-2
 - barytone verbs, 1275-98
 - consonant stems, 1275-87
 - transfer to vowel stems, 1281, 1291-4
 - influence on oxytone, 1269, 1302-7
- transfer to oxytone, 1308-9
- vowel stems, 1287-94
- transfer to consonant stems, 1290-1
- transfer to oxytone verbs, 1290
- vowel deletion in, 1287-90, 1291-3
- oxytone verbs, 1298-307
- A-stems, influence on E-stems, 1269, 1298-9, 1303, 1305
 - E-stems, influence from barytone, 1269, 1302-7
 - transfer to barytone, 1309-11
- peculiarities in single verbs, 1368-93
- perfective, 1268, 1311-56
- non-sigmatic, 1348-55
- pseudo-sigmatic, 1348-53
 - thematic, 1353-4
 - vowel stems, 1354-5, 1504
- sigmatic
- alternative stem in /k/, 1341-8
 - alternative stem in /ks/, 1326-7, 1328-9, 1335-8
 - barytone verbs, 1311-32
 - verbs with alternative passive stems, 1317-18, 1319-20, 1386
 - with change of stem vowel in passive, 1332
 - with vocalic extension /i/, 1331-2
 - oxytone verbs, 1332-41
- syncopated forms, 1369-70, 1379-80, 1384, 1441, 1449, 1503, 1653, 1663-4, 1679
- thematic vowels, 1268, 1361, 1378, 1384, 1434, 1451, 1455, 1456, 1490, 1559, 1563, 1596, 1604, 1609, 1697, 1700, 1702, 1763, 1764, 1765
- transitive, 1864, 1887, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1937, 1947, 1951, 1957, 1963

voice, 1928, 1929-30

- active, 1269, 1434, 1915, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1940, 1942
- middle, 1434, 1927, 1929
- residual middle forms, 1758-61, 1763-6
- passive, 1269, 1434, 1915, 1928, 1929-30, 1942, 1949, 1954
- with active meaning, 1805, 1817, 1823-4, 1827, 1833, 1838-9, 1843, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1929, 1937

voicing. *See* consonant changes

vowel addition, 37-60

- anaptyxis, 42-4
- prothesis, 9, 10, 11, 37-42, 953, 980, 989, 993
- word-final, 9, 44-60, 125, 915, 918, 919, 921, 929, 942, 954-5, 973, 980, 1005, 1010, 1034, 1061, 1169, 1172, 1272, 1438, 1441, 1442, 1454, 1456, 1458, 1459, 1460, 1470, 1472, 1490, 1491,

vowel addition (cont.)

1493, 1494, 1496, 1501, 1502, 1505,
1506, 1510, 1512, 1524, 1527, 1528,
1529, 1531, 1536, 1537, 1538, 1540,
1548, 1551, 1551, 1553, 1555, 1557,
1558, 1559, 1560, 1562, 1563, 1565,
1567, 1568, 1569, 1573, 1579, 1580,
1581, 1586, 1589, 1591, 1595, 1596,
1597, 1598, 1599, 1601, 1602, 1603,
1604, 1605, 1609, 1610, 1611, 1618,
1621, 1622, 1625, 1626, 1643, 1644,
1645, 1646, 1649, 1680, 1681, 1683,
1686, 1690, 1694, 1714, 1715, 1716,
1718, 1730, 1731, 1733, 1735, 1736,
1738, 1741, 1743, 1744, 1746, 1747,
1752, 1787

vowel changes, 66–81

assimilation, 9, 10, 11, 78–9, 223, 897, 954, 993,
1451, 1489, 1537, 1556, 1604, 1621,
1639, 1713, 1720

at word boundaries, 95–8

backing

of [j] to [ɣ], 20
of /i/ to /u/, 11, 76–8, 223, 1055, 1546, 1594,
1729

of /y/ to /u/. See phonemes, vowels

change to /e/ due to liquids/nasals, 9, 10, 11,
66–71, 223

dissimilation, 9, 10, 79

labialization, 9, 71–3, 223

lowering

of /i/ to /e/, 11, 68–71, 154

raising

of /e/ to /i/, 8–9, 1727, 1735, 1744

of /o/ to /u/, 8–9, 10, 73–5, 223, 276, 278, 290,
350, 372, 1307, 1439, 1447, 1450,
1456, 1459, 1543, 1700, 1702, 1745

raising vocalism, 9, 10, 29–37, 222, 273, 337,
369, 374, 567, 578, 651, 846, 847,
863, 883, 884, 1009, 1172, 1239,
1252, 1375, 1392, 1396, 1404, 1415,

1421, 1426, 1429, 1436, 1441, 1448,
1449, 1453, 1458, 1459, 1460, 1488,
1499, 1501, 1504, 1510, 1535, 1536,
1537, 1554, 1617, 1619, 1621, 1623,
1634, 1636, 1640, 1648, 1662, 1711,
1714, 1718, 1723, 1727, 1728, 1736,
1738, 1744, 1752, 1769

vowel deletion, 9, 10, 11, 60–6, 81–95

aphaeresis, 9, 10, 11, 61–3, 222, 758, 839, 863, 876,
911, 950–1, 1040, 1183, 1187, 1252,
1254, 1255, 1406, 1414, 1428, 1433

apocope, 65–6

high vowel deletion, 10, 11, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37

lexical, 10, 19, 83–8, 154, 256, 436, 443, 444, 460,
463, 514, 517, 594, 728, 734, 736, 737,
742, 753, 754, 755, 1250, 1251, 1287–8,
1354, 1417

post-lexical, 88–94, 847, 865, 1013, 1208, 1514

syncope, 63–5, 222, 890, 951, 969, 1034, 1252,
1369–70, 1379–80, 1384, 1441, 1449,
1503, 1653, 1663–4, 1679

Kretschmer's Law, 64–5

See also phonemes, vowels and hypercorrection

vowel hierarchy, 23, 40, 42, 63, 78, 81–4, 88, 89, 95, 98,
223, 950, 951, 1013, 1071, 1095, 1208,
1250, 1251, 1287–8, 1354, 1394, 1407

wishes. See clauses, main

word order. See constituent order

writing system

conservativeness of, xx, xxxi 3, 99, 106, 114, 132,
165, 188, 212, 256, 402, 410, 413, 414,
418, 444, 447, 509, 517, 520, 682, 745,
755, 1112

foreign scripts, xxvi–vii

Arabic, xxvi–vii, 35, 118, 194, 195, 198, 639

Cyrillic, xxvi, 12, 118, 194, 317, 639

Hebrew, xxvi–vii

Latin, xxvi, 10, 12, 24, 62, 105, 111, 148, 149,
158, 173, 192, 194, 196, 198, 200, 229,
639, 881, 905, 1058, 1343, 1702

Index of Greek Words and Phrases

ξ, 1124, 1128

ἀβοερία, 461

ἀβροχία, 460

ἀβυσσος, ἡ/τό, 663

ἀγαθοποιή, 704

ἀγαπειοῦμαι, 1304

ἀγαπῶ, ἡ, 590, 1097

ἀγαπῶ, ὁ, 545

ἀγγαρεία, ἡ, 460

Ἄγγελος/-ής, ὁ, 300, 359

ἀγελάδα, ἡ, 459

ἀγκαλιά, ἡ, 461

ἀγκούτσας, ὁ, 304

ἀγκῶνας, ὁ/-α, ἡ, 354

ἀγοράσκει, 1298

ἀγοραστής/-ής, ὁ, 362

ἀγόρι(ν), τό, 611

Ἄγουστής. See Αὔγουστος

ἀγρητα, ἡ, 459

ἀγροικ(ι)ένται, 1307, 1497

-άγω/-αξ-, 1370

ἄγω, 1369–70

ἄγωμε/ἄμε, ἄγωμετε/ἄμετε/ἄμέτε,
1369–70

Ἀδάμης, ὁ, 369

ἀδιαντροπία, ἡ, 460

ἀδούλης, 779

ἀετός/ἀτός, 84

ἄζαπης, 357, 779, 782

ἄζαπης, ὁ, 357

ἄζαπισσα, 782

Ἀθήνα, ἡ, 459

Ἀθηνοῦ/-οῦς, τῆς, 479

Ἀθηνῶν, τῶν/-οῦ, τῆς, 478

ἄθθος, 134

ἀθιβάλλω/-βάνω, 1286

αἰ, 846, 855, 856

Αἰγύπτιος, ὁ, 435, 449

αἶμας τό, 164, 650

αἵματοχυσία, ἡ, 460

αἶξ/αἶγα, ἡ, 459

αἵτινες, 1156, 1160

ἀκαμάτης, 779

ἀκαμάτρια, 782

ἀκολουθῶ, ἀκολουθεῖ, 1336

ἀκούγω, 1268, 1284, 1291

ἄκουε/ἄκο/ἄκω, 110, 1289

ἄκουε/ἄκου, 1289

ἀκούοντα/ἀκόντα, 1700

ἀκούοντας/ἀκόντας/ἀκῶντας, 1702

ἀκοῦς, 1287

ἀκούω/ἀκούγω, 146, 1291

ἄκρα/-η, ἡ, 532, 536

ἄκρα/-ια, ἡ, 462

ἀκριβής/-ός, 689, 761

ἀκρίς/-ιδα, ἡ, 459

Ἀκρίτης/-ας, ὁ, 400

ἄκρο(ν)/-ος, τό, 608, 663

ἄκρος, τό/ἡ, 262

ἀκτίς/-ινα, ἡ, 458, 459

Ἀλαμάνος/-ης, ὁ, 359

ἄλας, τό, 678–9

Ἀλασσόνας. See Ἐλασσών(α)

ἀλάτσι, 122

ἄλαφρά. See ἔλαφρά

ἄλγος, τό/ῶ, 257

ἄλγων/-ός, 813

Ἀλέξανδρος/-ής, ὁ, 359

ἀλήθεια, ἡ/-ειο(ν), τό, 612

ἀλήθεια/-ειος, ἡ, 536

ἄλλά, 2016, 2017

ἀλλάγι/ἀλλάι, 23

ἀλλάγιον/-ι(ν), τό, 610

ἀλλάσσω/ἀλλάζω/ἑλλάγω, 1278

ἀλλέας/-ιᾶς λο(γ)ῆς, 1165

ἄλλεως καί, 1901

ἄλλῃς, 1184

ἄλλῃλοι της, 1184

ἄλλῃλοις, 1184, 1185

ἄλλῃλους, 1184

ἄλλῃλων, 1183, 1184

ἄλλῃλως (μας, etc.), 830, 900, 1183, 1185–6

ἄλληνῆς, 1048, 1167, 1170

ἄλληνοῦ, 1167, 1168, 1169

ἄλλης/-ῆς, 1167, 1170

ἄλλοι (acc.), 1174

ἄλλο(ν) (adv.), 836

ἄλλονα, 1167, 1169

ἄλλόνας, -αν, 1169

ἄλλονε, 46, 1167, 1169

ἄλλονῆς, 1167, 1170

ἄλλος, 1167–76, 1924

- ἄλλος ... ἄλλος, 1166
 ἄλλοτε(ς), 830
 ἄλλου/-οῦ (masc.), 1167
 ἄλλου/-οῦ (neut.), 1167
 ἄλλο(υ)νοῦ (masc.), 1167, 1168–9
 ἄλλο(υ)νοῦ (neut.), 1167, 1171–2
 ἄλλο(υ)νοῦς, 1167, 1172, 1174
 ἄλλων/ἄλλων (masc.), 1167
 ἄλλων/ἄλλων (neut.), 1167
 ἄλλων(ν)/ἄλλον(ν)/ἄλλουν(ν) (fem.), 1167, 1174, 1175
 ἄλλων(ν)/ἄλλον(ν)/ἄλλουν(ν) (neut.), 1167, 1175, 1176
 ἄλλων(ν)(ε)/ἄλλο(υ)ν(ν)(ε) (masc.), 1167, 1172, 1173
 ἄλουπού, ἡ, 570–1
 ἄλουπού/-ῆ, ἡ, 537
 ἄλοφάς. *See* λουφές
 ἄλφα, τό/ῆ, 463
 ἄλωπηξ/-εκα, ἡ, 459
 ἄμα, 1906, 1907, 1920
 ἄμαζών/-όνα, ἡ, 459
 ἄμε, ἄμετε/ἄμέτε. *See* ἄγωμε
 ἄμε, τό, 686, 687
 ἄμέστε(ν), 1370
 ἄμ(μ)έ, 2012
 ἄμ(μ)ή, 2012, 2016
 ἄμπά, ἡ, 458
 ἄμπελέ, ἡ, 460
 ἄμπέλι, τό/-η, ἡ, 644
 ἄμπέλιον/ι(ν), τό, 610
 ἄμπελώνας, ὁ, 304
 ἄμποτε(ς), 1881, 1882, 1883
 ἄμφιβάλω/-βάνω, 1286
 ἄμοφρέας, ὁ/ἄφορέα, ἡ, 422
 ἄμφοτεροι, 1187, 1188, 1213–14
 ἄν. *See* ἔάν
 ἄν/ᾶ, 180, 181
 ἄν/ᾶνε, 59, 60
 ἄν καί, 1920, 1921
 ἄν καλὰ καί, 1920, 1921
 ἄν πολλάκις, 1901, 1903
 ἄνάβα(ν), τό, 686
 ἀναβρύω/-ζω, 1290
 ἀναβῶ/ἀνεβῶ/ἀνέβω, 1514
 ἀνακατωσιά, ἡ, 461
 ἀνάλαιμα, τό, 645
 ἀνάμεσα (εις), 2004, 2006
 ἀνάμεσά μας, etc., 1186
 ἀνάμεσά(ν) μας, etc., 1186
 ἀναμεταξύ μας, etc., 1186
 ἀναπαυμένος, 23, 1368
 ἀναπαύω/-πεύω, 1371
 Ἀνάπλι(ν). *See* Ναύπλιο(ν)
 ἀνάστα, τό, 686, 687
 ἀνατέλλω/-τέλλω, 1285
 ἀνδρας. *See* ἀνὴρ
 Ἀνδρέας, ὁ, 301, 402, 420
 Ἀνδρέας/-ίας, ὁ, 408
 Ἀνδρέως, τοῦ, 409
 ἀνέβα, 1672, 1673
 ἀνεβῶ/ἀνέβω. *See* ἀναβῶ
 ἀνελεήμων/-ονας/-ονος, 772
 ἀνὲν καί, 1894, 1895, 1903, 1905
 ἀνέναι (καί), 1901, 1903, 1905, 1907, 1920
 ἀνευ/ἀνευε/ἀνευα, 59, 60
 ἀνεψιά, ἡ, 461
 ἀνεψιός/-ιος, 223
 ἀνὴρ/ἀνδρας, ὁ, 303
 ἄνθος, τό/ῆ, 677
 ἄνθος/-ι(ν), τό, 612, 677
 Ἀνθοῦσα/Ἀντοῦσα/Ἀθτοῦσα/Ἀττοῦσα, 138
 ἄνθρωπος, ὁ, 285
 ἀνθρωπότης/-ότητα, ἡ, 458
 ἀνίσως (καί), 1894, 1895, 1901, 1903, 1905
 Ἀννεζού, ἡ, 570
 ἄνταν, 1906
 ἀντί, 1996
 ἀντιλλαξή, ἡ, 535
 ἀντρική/-ιά, 691
 ἀντῶ/-αίνω/-ένω, ἀντεσ-, 1340
 Ἀντώνιος, ὁ, 435
 ἄνωρίς, 839
 ἄξαυτόν/-οῦ/-ῆς/-ῆν μου, etc., 902, 1180
 ἄξινη/ἄξιμος, ἡ, 262
 ἄξιος/ἄξιος, 18, 705
 ἄξιση, ἡ, 535
 ἄξότατος, 826
 ἄπαν, 1205
 ἄπαντα, 1205, 1206
 ἄπαντας, 1206
 ἄπαντες, 1206
 ἄπαντέχω/-αίνω, 1295
 ἄπαντῶ, ἀπαντηξ-, 1335–6
 ἄπαντῶ/-αίνω, 1310
 ἄπαντῶ/-ήχυνω, 1371
 ἀπάντων, 1206
 ἀπαρθινότατος, 826
 ἄπας, 1187, 1199, 1200, 1205
 ἄπασα(ν) (fem.), 1205–6
 ἄπασα(ν) (indecl.), 1206, 1208
 ἄπασας, 1206
 ἄπασης, 1206
 ἀπατός μου, etc., 50, 901, 998, 1000–2, 1003, 1180
 ἀπείς, 1906
 ἀπείτις, 1906
 ἀπέλεκας, 1344
 ἀπέλυσα/ἀπέλυκα, 1346
 ἄπερ for ὅπου, 1135, 1983, 1987
 ἄπερ for ὅπου, 1989

- ἄπερ, 1130, 1133, 1982, 1987, 1989
 ἀπιδέα/-έ, 21, 506
 ἀπιδέα/-ιά, ἡ, 459, 506–7
 ἀπλαζίρι(ν), τό, 611
 ἀπλοῦς/-ῆς/-ύς, 723
 ἀπλοῦς/-ός, 721, 723, 1263
 ἀπό τ'/ἀπότ', 865, 928
 ἀπό, 1929, 1963, 1965, 1993, 1996–7, 2003–4. *See also* ὅπό
 ἀποδᾶβαίνω, ἐπεδᾶβεν, 28
 ἀποδέλοιπος/δελιοπός, 1165
 ἀποθνήσκω/(ᾶ)πεθνήσκω, 1297
 ἀποθνήσκω/ἀποθαίνω, 1348
 ἀποκλείεται/-εῖται, 1305
 ἀποκρέα/-ιά/ἀπόκρια, ἡ, 462
 ἀπομακρέας/-ι(ῆ)ς, 834–5
 ἀπομοναρέα/-έ, 21, 728
 ἀπομονάριος/-άρης, 728–37
 ἀπόντας, 1906
 ἀπονωρίς, 839
 ἀποσπερί(ς), 838, 839
 ἀποστάτης/-ας, ὁ, 400
 ἀποστολές, ὁ, 427
 ὀπότις, 1906
 ὀπού, 73, 75. *See also* ὅπου
 ἀποφαίνω/ἀποφῆνω, 1371
 ἀποφάνηση, ἡ, 535
 ἀπόφαση/ἀπόφα, ἡ, 569
 ἀππιδία/ἀμπιδία, 206
 ἀππικεύω/ἀμπικεύω, 206
 ἀπρεπαρισμένος, 1366
 ἄπτω/ἄφτω, 1275, 1384
 ἄπώς, 1906
 ἄράπης, ὁ, 357
 ἄράσσω/ἄράζω, 1278
 ἄράσσω/ῥάσσω, 1279
 ἄργά(ς), 831, 834
 ἄργητα, ἡ, 459
 ἄρμα/ἄρματον, τό, 656
 Ἀρμένιος/-ης, ὁ, 449
 ἄρμπιτράριος, 731
 Ἀρνίθα/Ἀρνίττα, 138
 ἄρπάζω/ἄρπάσσω, 1280–1
 ἄρπάζω/ἄρπῶ, ἄρπαξ-/ἄρπασ-, 1339
 ἄρπαξ/ἄρπαγος, 260, 354, 689
 ἄρραβώνας, ὁ/-α, ἡ, 353, 463
 ἄρρωστημένος, 1367
 ἄρχάζω/ἀρχέζω/ἀρχινέζω, 1372–3
 ἀρχαίων/ἀρχιῶν, 705, 711
 ἀρχεῦω, 1372
 ἀρχιμανδρίτης/-ας, ὁ, 400
 ἀρχινίζω, 1372
 ἀρχινῶ, 1372
 ἀρχιρίζω/ἀρχερίζω, 1372
 ἀρχιστῶντα, 1707
 ἄρχομαι, 1373
 ἄρχομαι/ἀρχω/ἀρχῶ/ἀρχίζω, 1371–2
 ἀρχων/-ος, ὁ, 260, 275
 ἄρωματικό(ν), τό, 592
 ἄς, 1652, 1659, 1762, 1841, 1876, 1878, 1882, 1883, 1930, 2027
 ἄς, 1124, 1127–8
 ἄσβεστη, ἡ/-ης, ὁ, 360, 569
 Ἀσελής, ὁ, 356
 ἀσημένιος, 737
 Ἀσημῶ, ἡ, 576
 ἀσθένεια/-ειος, ἡ, 531, 536
 ἀσθενής, 761
 ἄσπερ, 1130, 1132
 ἀσπρύτερος, 817
 ἀστήρ/ἀστέρας, ὁ, 304, 331
 ἄστινας, 1156, 1160
 ἀστράπτω/ἀστράφτω, 1275
 ἄστρο(ν)/-ος, τό, 608, 663
 ἀσχημοποδαρούσα, 782
 ἄτινα, 1156, 1160
 ἄτο, 883
 ἄτός μου, etc., 900, 901, 998–1000, 1002, 1003
 ἄτός, 925. *See also* ἄετός
 ἄτός/αὐτός, 999
 ἄτων, 907
 Αὐγουστος/Α(ὐ)γουστής, ὁ, 359
 αὐθέντης/-ας, ὁ, 400
 αὐθέντης/-ος/ἀφέντος, ὁ, 400
 αὐθέντης/ἀφέντης, ὁ, 356, 364
 Αὐλίτας, ὁ, 400
 αὐξάνω/-ύνω/-αίνω, 1294
 αὐτεῖνος, 845, 916, 917, 930–40, 1981
 αὐτοκράτωρ/-ορας, ὁ, 304
 αὐτόν/-ῆν/-ῆς μου, etc., 900–1, 998
 αὐτόνος, 845, 916, 917, 930–40, 1981
 αὐτός, 845, 874, 915, 916–25, 930, 998, 1981
 αὐτός, 925–8, 1981
 αὐτοῦνος, 916, 917, 930–40, 1981
 αὐτόχθων/-ονας/-ονος, 772
 ἀφέντης/ἀφές, ὁ, 362
 Ἀφηνοῦς, 213
 ἀφήνω, ἀφήκα/ἄφηκα, 1341, 1342, 1615, 1636
 ἀφήνω, ἀφήκα, 1348
 ἀφήνω, ἄφησα, 1312
 ἀφῆς, 1124
 ἀφ(σ)μένος, 1367
 ἀφίω/ἀφίνω/ἀφήνω, 1290, 1395
 ἀφόν. *See* ἀφών
 ἀφόν(ν)τι(ς), 1156, 1906
 ἀφορᾶ/ἀφορνᾶ, 1299
 ἀφορέα. *See* ἀμοφρέας
 ἀφότου, 1156, 1906, 1907
 ἀφοῦ, 1124, 1906, 1909

- Ἀφροδίτης, ἡ, 547
 Ἀφροδίτης, ὁ, 569
 ἄφρων/-ονας/-ονος, 772
 ἄφτι, 24
 ἄφω/ἄφον, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1920
 ἄχ. *See* ἐκ
 Ἀχιλλεύς/-έας, ὁ, 403
 ἀψύς/-ός, 745

 βαβά, ἡ, 458
 Βαβουλέας, ὁ, 403
 βάζω. *See* βόλλω
 βαθεῖς, 746
 βαθέος, 746
 βάθος, τό, 661
 βαθύς, 745, 746
 βάιον, 23
 βαλετέ, ἡ, 585
 βάλλω, βαλ-, 1353
 βάλλω, βάρτε, 215
 βάλλω/βάζω, 1286, 1373-4, 1400
 βάλλω/βάλνω, 1374
 βάλλω/βάνω, 1286, 1400
 βάλτος, ὁ/-ο(ν), τό, 592
 βάνδον/-ος, τό, 663
 βάπτω/βάφω, 1276
 βαρ', βάρτε. *See* βάλλω and βαρῶ
 βαρέα/-ᾶ, 21, 745
 βαρέα/-έ, 745
 βάρεν/βάρει, 1303
 βαρεῖα/-ῆα/-ιά, 745
 βαρεῖται/βαρειέται, 1270, 1304
 βαριές/βαρές, 21
 βαριοι/βαροί, 21
 βαριούς/βαρούς, 21, 745
 βάρος, τό, 661
 βάρος, τό/ὁ, 677
 βάρος/-ι(ν), τό, 677
 βαροῦμαι/βαρειόμαι, 1270
 βαρύς, 745
 βαρῶ, 1461
 βαρῶ, βάρ', βάρτε, 1655
 βαρῶ/βαρησ-/βαρεσ-, 1340, 1341
 βάσανος, ἡ/-ο(ν), τό, 298, 592
 βασλειο(ν), τό, 610, 630
 Βασileios, ὁ, 435
 Βασileios/-ης, ὁ, 357
 βασιλέος, ὁ, 421
 βασιλεύς/-έας/-ές/-ας/-ιάς, ὁ, 403-4
 βασιλῆς, ὁ, 356, 422
 βασιλῖός, ὁ, 259, 421
 βασίλισσα, ἡ, 459
 βασιλός, ὁ, 259
 βαστάζω/βαστάρω, 1311
 βαστάζω/βαστῶ, 1274

 βασταμενώτερος, 817
 βαστῶ/-άνω/-αίνω, 1374-5
 Βατῆας, ὁ, 403
 βγαίνω. *See* ἐκβαίνω
 βγῶ. *See* ἐβγῶ
 βδομήντα. *See* ἐβδομήκοντα
 βέβαια/-η, 705
 βελίρης, ὁ, 357, 388-9
 βελτίων, 772
 βενεζού, ἡ, 569
 Βενιαμῆς, ὁ, 359
 βερτού, ἡ, 569
 βερτούδα, ἡ, 459
 βήτα, τό/ἡ, 463
 βιάση, ἡ, 535
 βιβλιο(ν)/-ιό(ν), τό, 609
 βίος, ὁ/τό, 298, 662
 βίος/βίός, τό, 663
 βισκούντης, ὁ, 357
 βίτσιο(ν), τό, 610
 βιτσορές, ὁ, 427
 βλάπτω/βλάβω, 1276
 βλάπτω/βλάφτω, 1275
 βλέπεσαι/βλέπεις/βλέπουνται, 1375, 1652
 βλεπτημένος, 1366
 βλέψη, ἡ, 535
 βλέπω, βλεψη-, 1331-2, 1375
 βλέπω, ιδ-, 1353
 βλέπω/εβλέπω, 38
 βοηθῶ, βοηθῆς-, 1336
 βοηθῶ/βοηθῶ, 1336
 βολά, ἡ, 458
 βόρβωρα, τά, 592
 βορέας, ὁ, 402, 420
 βορέως, τοῦ, 409
 Βουλγάροι/Βουρκάροι, 192
 βούλομαι, βουληθ-, 1331-2
 βουνό(ν)/-ός, τό, 608
 βουτῶ, βουτησ-/βουτηξ-, 1338
 βραδύ/βράδυ, τό, 838
 βράδυ(ν)/-ι(ν), τό, 610
 βραχιονας, ὁ/βραχιόνα, ἡ, 354, 463
 βράχος, ὁ/τό, 298, 661
 βραχύς, 746
 βρέθομαι/βρεθίσκομαι. *See* εὔρεθωμαι
 βρεῖ(ν). *See* εὔρεῖ(ν)
 βρέ(ς). *See* εὔρε
 βρέσκω. *See* εὔρεσκω
 βρέτε. *See* εὔρετε
 βρέφος/-ι(ν), τό, 677
 βρέχομαι, βραχ-, 1332
 βρίσκω. *See* εὔρίσκω
 βροντῶ/βροντηξ-, 1337
 βρυχῶμαι/βρυχιζῶ/βρύχω, 1310
 βρῶ. *See* εὔρω

- βυζάνω, βυζασ-, 1326
 βυζιον/-ι(ν), τό, 609
 βυθός, ὁ/βύθος, τό, 661, 662
 βύθος/-ός, τό, 662

 γαῖδάρα, ἡ, 459
 γαῖδαρος, 23
 γάλα(ν)/-ας, τό, 678, 679-80
 γαλιότα, ἡ/-ας, ὁ, 305
 γαμέας, ὁ, 403
 γαρμπής, ὁ, 356
 γάρως, τό, 662
 γαστήρ/-έρα, ἡ, 459
 γάτος/-ης, ὁ, 300
 γέγοναν, 1766
 γεῖς. *See* εἰς
 γείτων/γεῖτος, ὁ, 260
 γελασμένος, 1366
 γέλως, ὁ/-ος, τό, 664
 γενεῖ(ν)/γινεῖ(ν)/γένει(ν)/γίνει, 1694-5
 γενεράλης, ὁ, 357
 γενίσκομαι. *See* γινίσκομαι
 γέννα, ἡ/τά, 532
 γένομαι. *See* γίνομαι
 γένω/γενῶ, 1498
 γένω/γίνω/γενῶ, 1514
 γερανῆς, 788
 γερανίσκω, 1297
 Γεράπετρος. *See* Γεράπετρα
 γέρας. *See* γῆρας
 γέρατα/γέρα, τά, 681
 γέρνω. *See* ἐγείρω
 γερο-, 590, 591
 γέρων/-οντας, ὁ, 304, 680
 γέρων/-ος, ὁ, 260
 Γεωργῆς/Γιωργῆς, ὁ, 360
 γῆ. *See* ἡ
 γῆ. *See* ἡ
 γῆρας/γέρας, τό, 678, 680-1
 γῆς, ἡ, 590
 γῆς/γῆς, 41
 γιά. *See* διά
 γιά/γά, 20
 για-/δια-, 154-5
 γιά νά. *See* διὰ νά
 γιά τ'/γιατ'. *See* διὰ τ'
 Γιαννού, ἡ, 570
 γιάντα, 1014
 γιάση, ἡ, 536
 γιάτῃ. *See* διατῇ
 γίγας, ὁ, 303
 γίγας/-αντας, ὁ, 303
 γίγας/-αντος, ὁ, 260
 γινίσκομαι/γενίσκομαι, 1376
 γίνομαι/γένομαι, 1376

- γιόφυρα/-ος, ἡ, 531
 γκιουλγκιουλῆς, 788
 γλακῶ, 26
 γλακῶ, γλακηξ-, 1337
 γλήγορι(ς), 838
 γλυκός/-ός, 689, 745, 746
 γλυτώνω, ἐγλύτωκα, 1268, 1344
 γνέψη, ἡ, 535
 γνώθω/γνώνω, 1278
 γογγύζω, γογγυσ-/γογγυκ-, 1348
 γοί. *See* οἱ
 γοῖον. *See* δοῖον and ὡς γοῖον
 γονῆς, ὁ, 356, 386, 422
 γονικάριος, ὁ, 435
 γόνυ/-α/-ατο(ν), τό, 678, 681-2
 γράδες, οἱ. *See* γριάδες
 γραῖα/γρέ, ἡ, 509
 γραῖα/γριά/γρά, ἡ, 460, 508
 γράμμα(ν), τό, 646
 γραφεύς/-έας, ὁ, 403
 γράφος, τό, 661
 γράφω, 1435
 γράψιμο(ν), τό, 645, 657
 γρια-, 590
 γρ(ι)άδες, οἱ, 514
 γρ(ο)ικῶ, 1461
 γρ(ο)ικῶ, γρ(ο)ικησ-/γρ(ο)ικηξ-, 1337
 γυναικός/-οῦ, τῆς, 478
 γυνή/γυναῖκα, ἡ, 458, 459
 γύψ/γύπας, ὁ, 303
 ὕω. *See* ἐγώ

 Δαβίδης, ὁ, 369
 δαίμων/-ονας, ὁ, 304
 δάκρυον/-υ(ν), τό, 610
 δασακῆς, 788
 δαμι(ν)/-άκι(ν), 807, 808
 δανεισιός, ὁ, 451
 δάσος, τό/ὁ, 677
 δάσος/-ι(ν), τό, 677
 δασύς, 745
 δασώδης, 761
 δαῦτος. *See* ἐδαῦτος
 δέ, 876, 2009-10
 δέδωκαν, 1766
 δεικνύω/δείχνω/δείκτω, 1281-2
 δέλος, τό, 661
 δεῖ(ν). *See* ἰδεῖ(ν)
 δεῖν, τό, 610
 δεῖνα/όδεῖνα, 989, 1024, 1070, 1076, 1087-90
 δεῖνας/όδεῖνας/όδεῖνας/δεῖνος, 1088-90
 δεῖπνο(ν)/-ος, τό, 608, 663
 δείχνω. *See* δεικνύω
 δέκα, 1231, 1249

δεκαδύο, 1249
 δεκαεννέα/δεκαεννέα/-ιά, 1251–2
 δεκαεννιά/δικογινιά, 1252
 δεκαέξ/δέκαεξ/δεκαέξ/-ε/δεκάξι, 1250–1
 δεκαεπτά/-εφτά/δεκαεφτά, 1251
 δεκαοκτώ/-οχτώ/δεκοκτώ/-οχτώ, 1251
 δεκαπέντε, 1250
 δεκατέσσαροι/-τέσσεροι, 1250
 δέκατος, 1231, 1258, 1261
 δεκατρείς, -τρία, 1250
 δελιοπός. *See* ἀποδελιοπος
 δέν εν/δέν, 227–8, 1721
 δέν. *See* οὐδέν
 δενδριώνας, δ, 304
 δένδρο(ν)/-ό(ν), τό, 594
 δενδρουτζικον, τό, 592
 δένω. *See* δέω
 δέομαι, δεηθ-, 1331–2
 δέομαι/δεγοῦμαι, 1291
 δέρω/δέρνω, 1351
 δέ(ς). *See* ἰδέ(ς)
 δεσδένιον, τό, 610
 δεσμός, δ, -ά, τά, 298, 592
 δέσποινα, ἡ, 459
 δεσποίνης/δεσπύνης, 12
 δεσπότης/δέσποτος, δ, 400
 δέτε. *See* ἰδέτε
 δευτέρα/δεύτερη, 715, 1258–9
 δευτερεύων/-εῦος/-έος, 813
 δεύτερο(ν)/-α (adv.), 837
 δεύτερος, 1258
 δέω/δένω, 1290
 διά/γιά, 154, 1889, 1993, 1994
 διά/γιά λόγου, 897
 διά/γιά νά, 1889, 1892, 1896, 1897, 1920, 1966
 διά τ'/διάτ'/γιά τ'/γιατ', 865, 928
 διά τὸ νά, 1897
 διάβα(ν), τό, 686
 διάβατα, τά, 687
 διάβολος/διάβολος, 154
 διαβόντα(ς), 1707
 διάγω/διάζω, 1370
 διασυντόμου/-ως, 840
 διαττ/(δ)γιαττ, 1918, 1919
 διατό, 1918
 διάφορο(ν)/-ος, τό, 608, 664
 διαφύλαξον/διαφοίλαξον, 12
 διγεί(ν). *See* ἰδεί(ν)
 δι(γι)ώ. *See* ἰδῶ
 διδάσκω/διδάχνω, 1281, 1282
 διδεται/-εται, 1377
 διδω, δώκω, 1347–8
 διδω, δώκα, 1341–2
 διδω, δώσα, 1311
 διδω/διδῶ, 1309, 1377

διδω/δίνω, 1376–7
 διδω/δούδω, 1377
 διδω/δώνω, 1377
 διέ. *See* ἰδέ
 δικός μου, etc. *See* ἰδικός μου
 δίκτυον/-υ(ν), τό, 610
 διμάκι(ν), 808
 δίνω. *See* δίδω
 διό, 1124
 διοικητής/διο(ι)κητάς, δ, 400
 διότι, 1918, 1919
 διοῦ, 1124, 1918
 διπλοῦς/-ός, 721
 δισδέκατος, 1261
 διώκω/διώχνω/διώκτω, 1281–2
 διώχνω/δι(ι)ώχω, 1283–4
 δοκοφρων/-ονα/-ονος, 772
 δόλος, ό/τό, 662
 δό(ς). *See* δῶσε
 δός, τό, 686
 δοσία, ἡ, 569
 δόσια/δόσα, τά, 569
 δόσιμο(ν), τό, 657
 δόσις/ἑδοσις, ἡ, 536
 δο(σ)μένος, 1367, 1378
 δόστε/δότε. *See* δῶστε
 δούδω. *See* δίδω
 δουμάκι(ν), 808
 δούξ/δούκας, δ, 303, 324–31
 δουξοί, οἱ, 329
 δράκων/-ος, δ, 260
 δράππα, 134
 δράσσω/δράχνω/δράκτω, 1283
 δράχνω/δράχω, 1283–4
 δριμνιότερος, 817
 δριμύς, 745
 δροσιά, ἡ/-ιό, τό, 612
 δρόσος ἡ/ό/τό, 663
 δρυένιος, 737
 δρυς, ἡ, 589
 δρυς/ἰδρυς, δ, 41, 453
 δύναμαι/-ομαι, 1378
 δύναμαι/-ομαι, δυνηθ-, 1331–2
 δύναμις/-η, ἡ, 534, 535, 560
 δύνω. *See* δύω
 δύο/δυό, 1238–40
 δύο/δύον, 1238
 δύο/δύου, 1238, 1239
 δύο/δύων/δυῶν, 1238–9
 δυό/ἰδυό, 41, 1238, 1239
 δυός/δυονούς, 1238, 1240
 δυσβατώδης, 763
 δυσκολώδης, 763
 δυστυχής/δύστυχος, 762
 δύνω/δύνω, 1290

δυῶνε/δυονῶ(ν)(ε)/ἑδυονῶ(ν), 1238, 1239
 δῶ. *See* ἰδῶ
 δῶδεκα, 1249–50
 δώνω. *See* δίδω
 δῶρο(ν)/-ος, τό, 608, 664
 δῶσε/δῶσ'/δός/δό, 1378, 1679
 δῶστε/δῶστε/δῶτε/δῶτε, 1378
 ε. *See* ἡ
 ἐάν/ἄν, 1894, 1895, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 2027, 2028
 ἐαυτός. *See* τὸν ἐαυτό(ν) μου
 ἐβάρει/ἐβάρει, 1303, 1304
 ἐβγα. *See* ἐκβα
 ἐβγάζω. *See* ἐκβάλλω
 ἐβγαίνω, ἡβγα. *See* ἐκβαίνω
 ἐβγαση, ἡ, 535
 ἐβγα(ν), τό, 686
 ἐβγῶ/βγῶ, 1517
 ἐβγῶ/ἐξέβω/ἐβγω, 1514
 ἐβγῶντα, 1707
 ἐβδομάς/-άδα, ἡ, 458, 459
 ἐβδομήκοντα/ἐβδομήντα/βδομήντα, 1254
 ἐβδομος, 1260
 ἐβην/ἐβηκα, 1613, 1614, 1630
 ἐβρηκα/ἐβρηκα. *See* εὔρηκα
 ἐβῶ. *See* ἐγῶ
 ἐγγόνη/-α, ἡ, 463
 ἐγγονή/-ιά, ἡ, 569
 ἐγγονος/-ας, δ, 299, 304
 ἐγγράφου (adv.), 840
 ἐγγέρονε/ἐγεγόνηκε, 1766
 ἐγείρω/(ἐ)γέρνω, 1284
 ἐγενόμην/ἐγενήθην/ἐγένην, 1375
 ἐγκλησία. *See* ἐκκλησία
 ἐγλεντζέ, ἡ, 586
 ἐγλεντζές, ό/ἡ, 586
 ἐγλήγορα(ς), 834
 ἐγνέας. *See* ἐκ νέας
 ἐγνοια. *See* ἐννοια
 ἐγῶ/γῶ/ἑῶ/ἑβῶ, 862–3
 ἐγῶ/ἰγῶ, 863
 ἐγών, 863
 ἑδα. *See* εἶδα
 ἐδάρε/ἐδάρτε, 1674
 ἐδαῦτος/δαῦτος, 845, 928–9, 1981
 ἑδε, 928, 952, 969, 1090
 ἐδεκείνος, 952, 1981
 ἐδεποτός/-ποιός, 1024, 1090–1
 ἐδετίς, 1090
 ἐδετοῦτος, 969, 1981
 ἐδικός μου, etc. *See* ἰδικός μου
 ἐδικότητα, ἡ, 459, 503
 ἑδοσις. *See* δόσις
 ἑδυονῶ(ν). *See* δυῶνε

ἐθέλω/θέλω, 1398
 ἐθέλω/θέλω, (ἐ)θέλησ-, 1331
 ἐθηκα/ἑθεκα. *See* θέτω
 εἰ, 1894, 1901, 2028
 εἶ, 1709, 1712
 εἰ δέ (μή), 2009
 εἶδα/ἑδα, 1413
 εἶδα/εἶδια, 1375
 εἰκοσάδα, ἡ, 1262
 εἰκοσι/κοσι/-κοσ-, 1252
 εἰκοστοῦ/εἰχουστοῦ, 210
 εἰκῶν/-όνα, ἡ, 458, 459
 εἶμαι, 1709, 1710–11
 εἶμαι/εἶμαιν, 1709, 1710, 1711
 εἶμαι/εἶμι, 1709, 1710, 1711
 εἶμαστανε, 1710, 1715, 1716
 εἶμαστε(ν)(ε)/εἶμασθε(ν), 1710, 1715–16
 εἶμεθα, 1710, 1712–13
 εἶμεθε(ν), 1710, 1713
 εἶμεστα(ν)(ε)/εἶμεσθα(ν), 1710, 1714–15
 εἶμεστε(ν)(ε)/εἶμεσθε(ν), 1710, 1713–14
 εἶμεστε(ν)/εἶμιστι(ν), 1710, 1714
 εἰμή, 1924
 εἰμί, 1709, 1711
 εἰμ/εἶμαι, 1709
 εἶν (num./pron.), 1046, 1047, 1233, 1234
 εἶν/ἦν/εἶ, 1709, 1710, 1723–5
 εἶναι/εἶν (inf.), 1750, 1753
 εἶνε(ν)/εἶναι(ν), 1709, 1710, 1723, 1725–6
 εἶνιε/εἶναι, 200, 1710, 1723, 1726–7
 εἶνι(ν), 1709, 1710, 1723, 1727
 εἶντα. *See* τίντα
 εἰπεῖ(ν)/εἰπεί(ν)/πεί(ν), 1693–4
 εἰπέ(ς)/πέ(ς), 1677–8
 εἰπέτε/πέτε, 1680
 εἴπουν(α), 1627–8
 εἴπω/εἴπῶ/πῶ, 1498, 1513, 1514
 εἴπωμένος, 1366, 1388
 εἰς/εἰσεῖ/σεῖ/σ', 45, 61
 εἰς/ἐνας/(ἐ)νεῖς/γεις (num.), 1232
 εἰς/ἐνας/(ἐ)νεῖς/γεις (pron./art.), 971, 1024, 1041–5, 1214, 1976–7
 εἰς/ἐνας ... τὸν ἄλλο(ν)/τοῦ ἄλλου, 1183
 εἰς/σέ, 1949, 1953, 1954, 1957, 1963, 1993, 1994, 2003, 2004
 εἰς τ', 865, 928
 εἰς τὸ νά, 1897
 εἶσαι, 1709, 1711–12
 εἶσατε, 1710, 1718
 εἶσθι, 1750, 1752
 εἰσί(ν), 1710, 1727, 1728
 εἶσται(ν)/εἶσθαι(ν), 1750–2
 εἶσται(ν)/εἶσθαι(ν)/εἴστε(ν)/εἴσθε(ν)/ἦσται(ν)/ἦσθαι(ν)/ἦστε(ν)/ἦσθε(ν), 1750
 εἶσται(ν)/εἴσται(ν), 1750, 1752

εἶσται(ν)/εἴσταινε, 1752
 εἴστε(ν)/εἴσθε(ν)/εἴστενε, 1710, 1717-18
 εἴστε(ν)/εἴστι(ν), 1710, 1717, 1718
 εἴστον, εἴστονε. *See* ἦστον, ἦστονε
 εἰστόντα. *See* ἐστόντα
 εἴτε, 2013, 2016
 εἴτι, 1162, 1163-4
 εἴτινα(ν), 1162, 1163
 εἴτινος, 1162-3
 εἴτινων, 1162, 1164
 εἴτις, 1092, 1161-2
 εἴτις (καί) ἀννά, 1164
 εἶχα/ἔχα, 1412-13
 εἶχουνα, 1534
 εἶχουστοῦ. *See* εἰκοστοῦ
 ἐκ, 1965, 1997, 2003-4
 ἐκ/ἀχ/ὀχ, 96
 ἐκ/ἐχ, 124-5
 ἐκ μέρους, 1997
 ἐκ νέας/ἐγνέας, 210
 ἐκάθησα/ἐκάτσα/ἐκάσσα, 1385
 ἐκάθισα/ἐκάτσα/ἐκάσσα, 1384-5
 ἐκάλεν/ἐκάλει, 1269
 ἐκάστος, 1187, 1214-16
 ἐκατό(ν)/κατό, 1255
 ἐκβα/ἐβγα, 1673
 ἐκβαίνω/(ἐ)βγαίνω, 1344, 1373
 ἐκβάλλω/(ἐ)βγάλλω, 1373-4
 ἐκεῖ ὅπου, 1908, 1909
 ἐκεῖν/ἐκεῖν, 951-2
 ἐκεῖνος, 845, 875, 941-51, 1981
 ἐκειός, 845, 952, 1981
 ἐκκλησία/ἐγκλησία, 206
 ἐκπίπτω/ξεπέφτω, 1396, 1419
 ἐκτος, 1260
 ἐλα, 1672, 1673
 ἐλα, ἐλάστε(ν)/ἐλάστενε, 1382
 ἐλα, τό, 686
 ἐλαία/ἐλιά, ἡ, 459
 ἐλαιώνας, ὁ, 304
 ἐλάσσων, 814
 Ἐλασσών(α), ἡ/Ἀλασσόνας, ὁ, 305
 ἐλαφρά/ἀλαφρά, 95
 ἐλαφρός/-ής, 690
 ἐλεήμων/-ονας/-ονος, 772-8
 ἐλεύθερος, 715
 ἐλέφας/-αντας, ὁ, 303
 ἐλέφας/-αντος, ὁ, 260
 ἐλέφας/λέφας, ὁ, 303
 ἐλη, τό/ἡ, 678
 ἐλθῆναι, 1692, 1693
 ἐλθιμο(ν)/ἐρτιμο(ν), τό, 657
 ἐλθόντας/ἐρθοντας, 1381
 ἐλθος, τό, 661
 ἐλθω/ἐλθῶ, 1513
 Ἐλλάς/-άδα, ἡ, 459
 ἐλόγου μου, etc., 897
 ἐλπῖς/-ῖδα, ἡ, 458, 459
 ἐλύθην/ἐλύθηκα, 1344
 ἐμᾶς. *See* ἡμῶν
 ἐμᾶς/ἑμας. *See* ἡμᾶς
 ἐμᾶς/ἑμᾶς, 872
 ἐμαυτή(ν). *See* τὴν ἐμαυτή(ν) μου
 ἐμαυτό(ν). *See* τὸν ἐμαυτό(ν) μου
 ἐμβαίνω/(ἐ)μπαίνω, 1373
 ἐμέ(ν)(α)(ν)(ε) (gen.), 862
 ἐμέ(ν)(α)(ν)(ε)(ν)/μέ(ν)(α)(ν)(ε)(ν) (acc.), 48, 862
 ἐμεῖς. *See* ἡμεῖς
 ἐμεῖς/ἑμεῖς, 871
 ἐμέν(α)/ἐμένε, 862, 866
 ἐμέν(α)/ἐμενός, 865
 ἐμέτερος. *See* ἡμέτερος
 ἐμιλία. *See* ὁμιλία
 ἐμισός. *See* ἡμισυς
 Ἐμμανουήλ/Μανόλης, ὁ, 359
 ἐμός, 914
 ἐμοῦ/ἑμου, 862, 863-4
 ἐμπα, 1672, 1673
 ἐμπαίνω, ἡμπα, 1373, 1400
 ἐμπα(ν), τό, 687
 ἐμπατα, τά, 687
 ἐμπε, 1679
 ἐμπορεμένος/μπορεμένος, 1367
 ἐμπορῶ/ἡμπορῶ, -πορησ-/πορεσ-, 1340
 ἐμπροσθεν/ἐμπροστές, 164
 ἐμπω/ἐμπῶ/μπῶ, 1498
 ἐν, 1998
 ἐν/ἐ, 1709, 1718, 1721-2
 ἐν/ἐνα(ν) (pron./art. neut.), 1043, 1049-50
 ἐν(α)(ν) (num. neut.), 1232, 1235-7
 ἐν(α)(ν)(ε) (num. masc.), 1232, 1233-4
 ἐνα(ν)(ε) (pron./art. masc.), 1043
 ἐναι(ν). *See* ἐνε(ν)
 ἐναλλήλως, 1186
 ἐνας. *See* εἷς
 ἐνας ... τὸν ἄλλο(ν). *See* ὁ εἷς
 ἐνατος, 1231, 1258, 1261
 ἐνδεκα/ἐντεκα, 1249
 ἐνεῖς. *See* εἷς
 ἐνε(ν)/ἐναι(ν), 1709, 1710, 1718, 1720, 1722-3
 ἐνευ/ἐνιν, 1709, 1723
 ἐνενήκοντα/ἐνενήντα, 1255
 ἐν/ἐν, 1709, 1710, 1718-21
 ἐνιαυτός. *See* τὸν ἐνιαυτόν μου
 ἐννέα/-ία/-ιά, 1231, 1248-9
 ἐννέατος, 1261
 ἐννοια/ἐγνοια, 143
 ἐνός/(ἐ)νοῦς(ς)/όνους (num. masc.), 1232-3
 ἐνός/(ἐ)νοῦς(ς)/όνους (num. neut.), 1237-8
 ἐνός/(ἐ)νοῦς(ς)/όνους (pron./art. masc.), 1043, 1045-6
 ἐνός/(ἐ)νοῦς(ς)/όνους (pron./art. neut.), 1043, 1050

ἐνόσω, 1906, 1909
 ἐντεκα. *See* ἐνδεκα
 ἐνώ, 1124, 1906, 1909
 ἐνώ for ὅπου, 1124
 ἐξ/ἐξέ/ἐξε, 59
 ἐξ/ἐξέ/ἐξε, 98, 1246-7
 ἐξανα-/ξανα-, 1419
 ἐξαπέλυσα/ἐξαπέλυκα, 1346
 ἐξατος, 1231, 1258, 1260
 ἐξαυτόν μου, etc., 902, 998
 ἐξέβα(ν), τό, 686
 ἐξεβῶ/ἐξέβω. *See* ἐβγῶ
 ἐξερῶ/ξερῶν, 1299
 ἐξεστηκώς/-ός, 813
 ἐξευρίσκω/(ἐ)ξεύρω, 1395
 ἐξεύρω/(ἐ)ξέρω, 1381
 ἐξήκοντα/ἐξήντα, 1254
 ἐξοδος, ἡ/-ο(ν), τό, 592
 ἐξυστέρου, 841
 ἐξω ἄν, 1901
 ἐξω/δξω, 95, 96
 ἐπαινος, ὁ/τό, 662
 ἐπαίρω/(ἐ)παίρνω, 1274, 1284, 1400, 1648, 1661
 ἐπεδᾶβεν. *See* ἀποδᾶβαίνω
 ἐπεῖ, 1918, 1919
 ἐπειδή(τις), 1918, 1919
 ἐπεσαῦτος/ἐποσαῦτος, 994
 ἐπесе/ἔπεκε, 1268, 1344, 1347
 ἐπί, 1998-9, 2003, 2004
 ἐπια/ἡπια, 1399-400
 ἐποῖκα/ἐποικα, 1345-6
 ἐπτὰ/ἐφτά, 1247-8
 ἐπτατος/ἑφτατος, 1231, 1258, 1260
 ἐργατα, τά, 593
 ἐργο(ν)/-ος, τό, 608, 663
 ἐργο(ν)/ὄργο(ν), τό, 604
 ἐρημάζω/ρημάσσω, 1280, 1281
 ἐρθα. *See* ἦρθα
 ἐρθομένος/ἐρθωμένος, 1367
 ἐρθοντας. *See* ἐλθόντας
 ἐρις/-ῖδα, ἡ, 458
 ἐρου, τοῦ, 260
 ἐρτιμο(ν). *See* ἐλθιμο(ν)
 ἐρχομαι, ἐλθ-/ἐρθ-, 1353
 ἐρχομαι/ἔρκομαι, 186, 191, 1381
 ἐρχομαι/ἐρχω, 1381
 ἐρχοντα(ς), 1381, 1915
 ἐρωσ/ἔρωτας, ὁ, 304
 ἐρωτῶ/ρωτῶ, (ἐ)ρωτηξ-, 1335
 ἐρωτῶ/ρωτῶ, (ἐ)ρωτησ-, 1353
 ἐσᾶς (gen.), 872, 873
 ἐσᾶς/σᾶς/ἑσας (acc.), 872, 873-4
 ἐσέ(ν)(α)(ν)(ε) (gen.), 866, 868
 ἐσέ(ν)(α)(ν)(ε)/σέ(ν)(α)(ν)(ε) (acc.), 48, 866, 868-9
 ἐσεῖς, 872, 873
 ἐσενοῦ. *See* ἐσοῦ
 ἐσμίεις, ἡ, 536
 ἐσο, 1749
 ἐσοδεῖα, ἡ, 460
 ἐσοντας, 1754, 1755, 1756-7
 ἐσοντες, 1754, 1757
 ἐσοῦ/ἐσενοῦ, 866, 868. *See also* σοῦ
 ἐστα(ν)/ἐσάνε, 1906, 1907, 1910, 1911
 ἐστα(ν)/ἐσθαι(ν), 1750, 1752-3
 ἐσταιν/ἑστιν, 1750
 ἐστε (imperat.), 1749
 ἐστέ/ἑστε, 1710, 1716-17
 ἐστι(ν)/ἑστί(ν), 1709, 1727, 1728
 ἐστιν. *See* ἑσταιν
 ἐστίν/ἑστίν, 1728
 ἐστον, 1728, 1742, 1743
 ἐστόντα καί, 1908
 ἐστόντα/εἰστόντα, 1754, 1756
 ἐστόντα(ς), 1754, 1756
 ἐστοντα(ς), 1754, 1755-6
 ἐστοντα(ς) (καί), 1755, 1906, 1908, 1909
 ἐσ(τ)οντας νά/(ὁ)πού, 1755, 1918, 1919
 ἐστοντος/ἐστόντος, 1754, 1757
 ἐσ(τ)οτας, 1757
 ἐστω, 1749-1750, 1755
 ἐστωσαν, 1749, 1750
 ἐσύ. *See* σύ
 ἐσύ/(ἐ)σοῦ, 76, 866, 867
 ἐσύ/ἑσύ, 866, 867
 ἑτερος, 1176-9
 ἐτεσαῦτος/ἐτοσαῦτος, 993
 ἐτέτοιος. *See* τίτοιος
 ἐτοῖας λογῆς, 971
 ἐτοῖος. *See* τίτοιος
 ἐτον. *See* ἦτον
 ἐτός του, 999
 ἐτοσαῦτος. *See* ἐτεσαῦτος
 ἐτόσος. *See* τόσος
 ἐτότε(ς). *See* τότε(ς)
 ἐτουνῆς, -οῦ, -ῶν. *See* τουν-
 ἐτουῖνος*, 916, 1981
 ἐτουτ-. *See* τουτ-
 ἐτσι (καί) ... ὡσάν καί, 2015
 ἐτσι. *See* ἦτις
 εὐαγγέλιο(ν), τό, 610
 εὐγενάδες/-ῖδες/-ῆδες, οἱ, 762
 εὐγενής, 763
 εὐγνώμων/-ονας/-ονος, 772
 εὐδαίμων/-ονας/-ονος, 772
 Εὐδοκού, ἡ, 570
 εὐθειάζω/φτιάνω, 1418
 εὐθύς ὅπου, 1906
 εὐκαιρῶν/-αίνω/-ένω, εὐκαιρεσ-, 1340
 εὐμορφύτερος, 817
 εὐπρεπής/εὐπρεπος, 689

εὐρέ/βρέ(ς), 1677
 εὐρέθομαι/ηὐρέθομαι/βρέθομαι/-ισκομαι, 1382
 εὐρέσκω/ηὐρέσκω/βρέσκω, 1382
 εὐρέτε/βρέτε, 1680
 εὐρηκα/ἔβρηκα/ἠὐρηκα/εὐρήκα/ἔβρηκα/ἠὐρηκα,
 1342-3
 εὐρίσκω/βρίσκω, 1382, 1412
 εὐρον/ἠὐρον, 1343
 εὐρω/εὐρῶ/βρῶ, 1343, 1345, 1498, 1513
 Εὐστράτιος/Στράτης, δ, 357
 εὐτεῖνος, 941
 εὐτόνος, 941
 εὐτός, 916, 941, 1981
 εὐτοῦνος, 941
 εὐτυχής/εὐτυχος, 689
 εὐτυχῶς, 832
 εὐχομαι, εὐχθ-, 1331-2
 ἔφαε/ἔφα, 1354
 ἔφερα, 1351
 ἐφτά. *See* ἐπτά
 ἔφτατος. *See* ἑπτατος
 ἐχ. *See* ἐκ
 ἔχα. *See* εἶχα
 ἔχας, τό, 1705
 ἐχάωσα/ἐχάσα/ἐχασα, 234
 ἐχθηρτα, ἡ, 459
 ἐχοντα(ς) καί, 1908
 ἐώ. *See* ἐγώ
 ἔως νά, 1911
 ἔως (ό)πού, 1906, 1907, 1910, 1912, 1913
 ἔως δτου, 1156, 1906, 1907, 1909, 1911
 ἔως οὐ, 1124, 1906, 1907, 1909, 1911, 1913

ζᾱ. *See* ζῶ
 ζαλαχανάς, δ, 305
 ζαριστής, δ, 356
 ζαφορά, ἡ, 458
 ζερβός/ζαρβός, 690-1
 ζέστα/-η, ἡ, 532
 ζευγιά, ἡ, 461
 Ζεύς, δ, 403
 ζῆλος, δ/τό, 298, 662
 ζῆ(ν)/ζέ(ν), 1685, 1686
 ζήτουλας, δ, 304
 ζητῶ, ζητηξ-, 1336
 ζιπούνι(ν), τό, 611
 ζυγαρέα/-ιά, ἡ, 459
 ζυγῶνα, ζυγῶξ-, 1326, 1327
 ζῶ/ζό, τό, ζᾱ, τά, 594

ἡ, 846, 848
 ἡ, 1123, 1124, 1125
 ἡ. *See* οἱ
 ἡ/γῆ, 145, 848
 ἡ/γῆ, 145, 2013, 2016

ἡ/έ, 848
 ἡβγα. *See* ἔβγαίνω
 ἡβγατεν, 1674
 ἡθε(ν), 1811-12, 1874, 1875
 ἡθες, 1812
 ἡθος, τό, 661
 ἡθος/-ι(ν), τό, 677
 ἡμᾶς/ἐμᾶς/ἑμᾶς, 870, 871-2
 ἡμασταν/ἡμασθαν, 1729, 1736-7
 ἡμαστε(ν)(ε)/ἡμασθε(ν), 1729, 1735-6
 ἡμαστον/ἡμασθον/ἡμαστουν, 1729, 1736
 ἡμεθα(ν), 1729, 1733-4
 ἡμεθεν/ἡμεθον, 1729, 1734
 ἡμεῖς/ἐμεῖς/ἑμεῖς, 869, 870-1
 ἡμενθα, 1734
 ἡμέρας/-ός, τῆς, 478
 ἡμερός/-οῦ, τῆς, 478
 ἡμεροῦ/-οῦς, τῆς, 478, 479
 ἡμεστα(ν)(ε)/ἡμεσθα(ν), 1729, 1734
 ἡμεστε(ν)/ἡμεσθε(ν), 1729, 1735
 ἡμεστον, 1734, 1735
 ἡμέτερος, 914
 ἡμέτερος/ἑμέτερος, 914
 ἡμη(ν), 1728, 1731
 ἡμισταν, 1729, 1735
 ἡμισυ/-ος/-ός/(ἐ)μισός, 757-60
 ἡμον, 1728, 1731-2
 ημουναμε, 1729, 1737
 ἡμου(ν)(ε)/ἡμουνα, 1728, 1729-31
 ἡμπα. *See* ἐμπαίνω
 ἡμπορά. *See* μπορά
 ἡμπορῶ. *See* ἐμπορῶ
 ἡμῶν/ἐμᾶς, 871
 ἡν, 1724, 1728, 1729, 1748. *See also* εἶν
 ἡν, 1124, 1126
 ἡνία ἡ/τά, 612
 ἡνπερ, 1130, 1131
 ἡντα. *See* τίντα
 ἡντινα. *See* ἡτινα
 ἡντον, 1728, 1748
 ἡπερ, 1130, 1131
 ἡπια. *See* ἑπια
 ἡρθα/ἔρθα, 1413
 ἡς, 1124, 1125-6
 ἡσα(ν)/ἡσανε, 1729, 1739, 1743-4
 ἡσανι, 1729, 1743, 1744
 ἡσασι(ν)/ἡσανσι(ν), 1729, 1744-5
 ἡσαστε, 1729, 1735, 1738-9
 ἡσαστον/-ουν, 1729, 1739
 ἡσον, 1728, 1733
 ἡσουνα, 1733
 ἡσου(ν)(ε), 1728, 1732-3
 ἡσουναστε, 1729, 1737, 1739
 ἡσπερ, 1130, 1131
 ἡσται(ν)/ἡσθαι(ν). *See* εἴσται(ν)

ἡσταν (2 pl.), 1729, 1738
 ἡστα(ν) (3 pl.), 1729, 1743
 ἡστε(ν)/ἡσθε(ν)/ἡστενε, 1729, 1737-8. *See also*
 εἴσται(ν)
 ἡστον (2 pl.), 1729, 1738
 ἡστον/εἴστον (3 sg/pl.), 1728, 1729, 1742
 ἡστονε/εἴστονε (3 pl.), 1729, 1742, 1743
 ἡσυχος, 718
 ἡτα(ν)/ἡτανε, 1729, 1739, 1746-8
 ἡτασι(ν), 1729, 1749
 ἡτε, 1710, 1718
 ἡτινα/ἡντινα, 1156, 1158
 ἡτινος, 1156, 1158
 ἡτις, 1155, 1156, 1158
 ἡτον/ἔτον, 1413, 1728, 1729, 1739, 1742
 ἡτο(ν)/ἡτονε(ν), 1728, 1729, 1739-41
 ἡτονα (3 sg.), 1728, 1739, 1741
 ἡτονες (3 pl.), 1729, 1739, 1741
 ἡτου(ν)(ε)/ἡτουνα, 1728, 1729, 1745-6
 ἡύρ-. *See* εὐρ-
 ἡύρα, 1343, 1613
 ἡύρον. *See* εὐρον
 ἡχος/ἡχός, δ, 262

θά (fut.), 40, 203, 1791-3, 1870, 1898, 2027, 2038
 θά (volit.), 1380
 θά/θάν, 1793
 θάλασσα, ἡ, 459
 θάπτω/θάβ(γ)ω, 1277
 θάπτω/θάφτω, 1275
 θαρραπαιμένος, 1368
 θάρρος, τό/δ, 677
 θε νά/θενά, 40, 1790-1, 1870
 θειοῦδες, οἱ, 457
 θελά, 1790
 θέλει εἶσταιν τρεχάμενος, 1783
 θέλει/θέλ', 1787
 θέλεις ... θέλεις, 2013
 θέλω, θές, θέ(ν), etc., 1783-4. *See also* ἐθέλω
 θεμέλιο(ν), τό/-ιός, δ, 607
 θέννα. *See* θηέ ννά
 Θεόδωρος/-ής, δ, 300, 359
 θεραπεύω, θαρραπαισ-/θαρραπαι-, 1382
 θέτω, ἔθηκα/ἔθεκα, 1341, 1342, 1383
 θέτω, ἔθησα, 1383
 θέτω/θήττω, 1383
 Θήβα, ἡ, 459
 Θηβῶν, τῶν/-οῦ τῆς, 478
 θῆλυσ, 760-1
 θηριο(ν)/-ιό(ν)/θηριό(ν), τό, 609
 θηέ ννά/θέννα, 1789, 1790
 Θιάκι(ν). *See* Ἰθάκη
 θλίβω/θλιβῶ, 1309
 θρασύς, 745
 θρήνος, δ/-ιον, τό, 299, 613

θρήνος, δ/τό, 298, 662
 θρίξ/τρίχια, ἡ, 458
 θρύβας, 1704
 θυγάτηρ/θυγατέρα, ἡ, 458, 459
 θῶρη, τά, 661

Ἰανουάριος, δ, 435
 Ἰάσων/Ἰασοῦς, δ, 422
 Ἰγῆς. *See* γῆς
 Ἰγῶ. *See* ἐγῶ
 Ἰδέ/διέ, 1375
 Ἰδεῖ(ν)/δι(γ)εῖ(ν), 1375
 Ἰδεῖ(ν)/Ἰδει(ν)/δεῖ(ν), 1693-4
 Ἰδέ(ς)/δέ(ς), 1677-8
 Ἰδέτε/δέτε, 1680
 Ἰδη/Ἰδα, 26
 Ἰδικός/(ἐ)δικός μου, etc., 903, 910-12
 Ἰδιος μου, etc., 903, 912-13
 Ἰδιος. *See* ὁ Ἰδιος
 Ἰδρῶς. *See* δρῶς
 Ἰδρῶς δ/-ος, τό, 664
 Ἰδρώτας, δ/-η, ἡ, 537
 Ἰδυό. *See* δυό
 Ἰδῶ/δι(γ)ῶ, 217, 1375
 Ἰδω/Ἰδῶ/δῶ, 1513, 1514
 Ἰεράπετρα, τά/Γεράπετρος, ἡ, 258, 608
 ἱερός, δ, 356, 422
 ἱεροσόλυμα, τό/τό, 608, 645
 ἱησοῦς, δ, 422
 Ἰθάκη, ἡ/Θιάκι(ν), τό, 569, 613
 Ἰνα/νά, 1867, 1869, 1870, 1874, 1888-9, 1896, 2027.
See also νά
 Ἰνκάντος, τό, 661
 Ἰντα. *See* τίντα
 Ἰντα/Ἰντας, 1014
 Ἰντράδα, ἡ, 459
 Ἰσαάκιος, δ, 435
 Ἰστίν. *See* ἐστίν
 ἰσῦ. *See* ἐσῦ
 ἰσχός, ἡ, 589
 ἰσχύω/ἰσχύων, 1290
 ἴτις/ἔτσι, 123
 ἰχθύς, δ, 453-4

καβαλλάριος, δ, 435, 437
 καβαλλάριος/-ης, δ, 357
 καβαλλικευμένος, 1367
 κάβουρος/-ας, δ, 299, 305
 καδής. *See* κατής
 Κάερο/-ος, τό, 664
 καημένος, 23, 1368
 καθά, 1922
 καθαίρ(ν)ω/καθαίρων, 1299, 1309, 1384
 καθακαμία. *See* καθεμία
 καθακισαί, 1218

καθαμία/-μιά. *See* καθεμία
 κάθαναν/καθάναν, 1219, 1223
 καθανείς. *See* καθείς
 καθανός. *See* καθενός
 κάθανους/-οῦς, 1222, 1223
 καθαρνίσκω, 1297
 κάθε(ν)/κάθα(ν), 1187, 1188, 1214, 1224, 1226, 1228–30
 κάθε/κάθα εἰς/ἐνα. *See* καθείς
 κάθε/κάθα τις, 1228
 κάθε/κάθι, 1227
 καθεί(ν), 1219, 1223, 1224
 καθείς, 1043, 1187, 1188, 1214, 1228
 καθείς/-ενεῖς/-ανείς/-ένας/-ές/ὁκαθείς/κάθε εἰς/κάθα εἰς/κάτα εἰς/κάτε εἰς/κάτε εἰς/κάτε εἰς/κάτε εἰς/κάτε εἰς, 845, 1219–21
 καθείς/ὁκαθείς, 1070
 καθέκαστος, 1214, 1216–17
 καθεμία(ν)/-μιά(ν), 1219, 1226
 καθεμία/-μιά/καθαμία/-μια, 1219, 1224–5
 καθεμίας/-μιάς/-μιανῆς/καθαμιάς/καθημιάς/ὁκαθεμιάς, 1219, 1225
 καθέν/-ἐνα(ν)/κάθε ἕνα/κάθα ἕνα(α) (neut.), 1219, 1226–7
 καθένα(ν)/καθέν/κάθε ἕνα(ν)/κάθα ἕνα(ν) (masc.), 1219, 1223–4
 καθενός/-ένας/-ενοῦ/-ἐνα/ὁκαθενός/καθανός/κάθε ἕνός (masc.), 1219, 1221–3
 καθενός/-ενοῦ/-ανός/καθέν/κάθα ἕνός (neut.), 1219, 1227–8
 καθενός/καθινός, 1222
 καθές. *See* καθείς/-ενεῖς, etc.
 καθημία. *See* καθεμία
 κατήν, 1226
 καθίζω, κατ-, 1384
 κάθομαι, κατ-, 1384
 καθώς καί, 2010
 καθώς, 1920, 1922, 1923. *See also* ὡς καθώς
 καί, 1886, 1889–90, 1893, 1897–8, 1900–1, 1919–20, 1969, 2008–9, 2014–15, 2017, 2031
 καί/ὁκαί, 1920
 καί ἄν, 1901, 1920, 1921
 καί ἔς, 1901, 1920, 1921
 καιρός, ὁ, 262–3
 καίω, καυσ-/καψ-, 1312–13
 καίω/καίγω, 146, 1291
 καίω/καύγω/κάβγω, 1385
 καίω/καύτω/κάφτω/κάπτω, 1384–5
 κακή/-ιά, 691
 κάκητα, ἡ, 459
 κάκιστος, 828
 κακό(ν), τό, 592
 κακογνώμων/-ονας/-ονος, 772
 κακοδαίμων/-ονας/-ονος, 772
 κακομοίρης, 778

κακοῦργος, 705
 καλὰ καί. *See* ἄν καλὰ καί
 καλαμιώνας, ὁ, 304
 κάλει/κάλειε, 1269
 καλεῖτε/χαλεῖτε, 210
 καλεσμένος, 1366
 κάλλη, τά/ἡ, 678
 κάλλιστος, 828
 καλλίων/-ιος/-ίος/κάλλιος, 773, 823
 καλλιώτερος/-ότερος, 824–5
 καλογραία/-γριά/καλόγρια, ἡ, 463
 καλοθελής/καλόθελος, 689
 καλοθέτω/-θέκω, 1383
 καλός, 693
 καλότατα, 843
 καλότατος, 826
 καλύτερος, 817, 825
 καλῶς, 832
 κάμαρα/-η, ἡ, 532, 536
 καμαροφρυδοῦσα, 782
 Καμαχενός, 26
 καμία/-μιά/κιαιμία, 1058, 1063
 καμία(ν)/-μιά(ν)/κιαιμία(ν), 1058, 1064–5
 καμianoῦ, 1005, 1045, 1058, 1060, 1061
 καμίας/-μιάς/-μιανῆς/κιαιμιάς, 1058, 1064
 καμινάδαν/καμινάν, 153
 Καμπανέσης, ὁ, 359
 καμποσίους, 1083
 καμπόσσο(ν) (adv.), 836
 καμπόσσοι/κάμπσοι/ὁκάπσοι, 1024, 1082–7
 καμπούρισα, 782
 κανεῖ(ν)(ε), 1058, 1061, 1062–3
 κανείς, 845, 1024, 1043, 1978–9, 1980
 κανείς/-ένας/-ενεῖς/κιανείς/-ένας, 1023, 1058–60
 κανέν(α)(ν)/κιανένα (neut.), 1058, 1065–6
 κανένα(ν)(ε)(ν) (masc.), 1058, 1062
 κανενεῖ, 1058, 1062, 1063
 κανενῆς, 1058, 1064
 κανενός/-ενοῦ (neut.), 1058, 1066–7
 κανενός/-ενοῦ(ς)/κιανενός (masc.), 1058, 1060–1
 κανόνας, ὁ/-α, ἡ, 353, 463
 κανοῦ (masc.), 1058, 1060, 1061
 κανοῦ (neut.), 1058, 1067
 κάντις. *See* ὁκάτις
 κάπα, ἡ, 459
 κάποιος. *See* ὁκάποιος
 κάπονας, ὁ, 304
 καρδία/-ιά, ἡ, 223, 460, 518–19
 κάρλας, ὁ, 304
 κάρως, τό, 661
 καρτερῶ, καρτερεσ-, 1340
 καρτσῆς, 788
 καρτσιά/καρτζά, τά, 789
 καρτσίν, τό, 627
 καρυδέα/-ιά, ἡ, 459

κασέλα, ἡ, 459
 κάστρο(ν)/-ος, τό, 608, 664
 κατά, 1999
 κάτα, ἡ, 459
 κατάβε, 1679
 καταβῶ/κατεβῶ/κατάβω/κατέβω, 1514
 καταλύουν/καταλοῦν, 1287
 καταπληττής, ὁ, 356
 καταπῶς, 1922
 καταρχινῶ/καταχερνῶ, 1372
 καταρῶμαι, καταραθ-/ασθ-/αστ-/ισθ-/ιστ-, 1386
 Καταστρόμονον, τό, 593
 κάτε/κάτα εἰς. *See* καθείς
 κατέβα, 1672, 1673
 κατεβῶ/κατέβω. *See* καταβῶ
 κάτεργον/κάτερκον, 192
 κατῆς/καδῆς, ὁ, 356, 384
 κάτι(ς). *See* ὁκάτι(ς)
 κάτινα(ν), -ες, -ος. *See* ὁκάτιν-
 κατινῶν, 1072, 1075
 'κατό. *See* ἑκατό(ν)
 καττία/κατσια, 122
 καφενές, ὁ, 427
 καφές, ὁ, 427
 κέρας/-ατο(ν), τό, 678–9
 κεράτια/κεράτσια, 122
 κεραιῶν, τοῦ, 679
 κερδένω/-αίνω, κερδεσ-/αισ-, 1325
 κερδένω/κερδέζω, 1387
 κερέλλα, 134
 κεφαλάδες, οἱ, 305
 κεφαλή/κεφάλη, ἡ, 536
 κηροπούλης, ὁ, 356
 κηρύσσω/κηρύττω, 1279
 κιαιμία. *See* καμία
 κιαιμῶση, 1083, 1084
 κιανείς/-ένας. *See* κανείς
 κιλό(ν), τό, 592
 κίνδυνος, ὁ/-ο(ν), τό, 298, 592
 κιννάβαρι(ν), τό, 611, 643
 κιουρά, κιούρης, 15
 κιρμιζῆς, 788
 κιρμιζῆς/κιρμιζῆς/χιρμιζῆς/χιρμιζῆς, 788
 κίτες, 794
 κλαίμενος/κλαίμενος, 23, 1368
 κλαίει/κλαῖ, 1287
 κλαίοντα/κλιόντα, 1700
 κλαίω, κλαυσ-/κλαψ-, 1312–13
 κλαίω/κλαίγω, 146, 1291
 κλάω/κλάνω, 1290
 κλείω/κλείζω, 1290
 κλείω/κλείνω, 1290
 κλέπτω/κλέβ(γ)ω, 1276, 1277
 κλέπτω/κλέβω, κλαπ-/κλεφτ-, 1332
 κλέπτω/κλέφτω, 1275
 κλήρος, ὁ/τό, 662
 κλίμαξ/-ακα, ἡ, 458
 κλῶρου, τοῦ, 685
 κλύδωνας, ὁ/-α, ἡ, 354
 κλώθω, 1278
 κόβ(γ)ω. *See* κόπτω
 κοιμητήριον/-ι(ν), 610
 κολύμβου (adv.), 840
 κομεσιό(ν), ἡ, 570
 κομεσιός, ἡ, 581
 κομεσιού, ἡ, 570
 κόμης/κόμις, ὁ, 304
 κομητίσση, ἡ, 532, 537
 κομματσούλι, 122
 κομμοῦνος, 705
 κονδιτ(ι)ό(ν), ἡ, 570, 580
 κονδιτσιού, ἡ, 570
 κόνσουλος/-ας, ὁ, 300, 305
 κονταρέα/-ιά, ἡ, 460, 463
 κοντέντος, 705
 κόντες, ὁ, 427
 κόντες/-ης/-ος, ὁ, 357, 434
 κοντοσταβλικῖν/-σταυλικῖν, τό, 611
 κοντοστάβλος/-ης/-σταῦλος/-ης, ὁ, 360
 κοντύτερος, 817
 κοπέλα, ἡ, 459
 κοπελιά, ἡ, 461
 κόπρος, ἡ/τό, 663
 κόπτω/κόβ(γ)ω, 1276, 1277
 κόπτω/κόφτω, 1275
 κόραξ/κόρακας, ὁ, 304, 339
 κόρη, ἡ, 546
 κόρτε/κούρτη, ἡ, 536
 κορτίνα, ἡ, 459
 Κόρυκος, ὁ/Κούρκος, τό, 662
 κοσι-. *See* εἴκοσι
 κόστος, τό, 661
 κόττα, 134
 κουβαλῶ/κουβανῶ, 1300
 κουζουλότατος, 826
 Κούρκος. *See* Κόρυκος
 κοῦρσο(ν)/-ος, τό, 663
 κουρτέσης, 779
 Κουτλουμούσης, ὁ, 360
 κουτσοχέρης, 778
 κοψαρέ, 728, 732
 κόψις/κόψη, ἡ, 535
 κρατειοῦμαι, 1304
 κρατισμένος, 1366
 κρατῶ, κρατῆς-, 1335
 κρέας, τό, 650, 678, 682–3
 κρέας/κρ(ι)άς, τό, 682
 κρέας/κρέα, τό, 683
 κρέας/κρές, τό, 21, 682

κρέατος/κρεάτου, τοῦ, 682
 Κρέοντες, ὁ, 427
 Κρήτης, ἡ, 164, 547
 κρητικὴ/-ιά, 691
 κριατιοῦ, τοῦ, 682
 κρῖμας, τό, 650
 κρίνω/κρένω, 1295
 κρίνω/κρινίσκω, 1296
 κρίσιμο(ν), τό, 657
 κρότος, ὁ/τό, 662
 κρουδὲλ, 793
 κρούουσιν/κρούσιν, 1287
 κρούω/κρούγω, 146, 1291
 κρύβω, κρυβήθ-, 1387
 κρύβω/κρύφω, 1387
 κρύον/κρίον, 13
 κρύπτω/κρύβω, 1277
 κρύπτω/κρύβω, 1276, 1387
 κτήνο(ν)/-ό(ν), τό, 594
 κτήνος/-ο(ν), τό, 594, 676
 κτίστης, ὁ, 356, 360–1
 κυβερνήτης, ὁ, 356
 κυλίεται/-ιέται, 1305
 κύνας, ὁ/-α, ἡ, 463
 κυρ-, 591
 κυρα-/κερα-
 κυρτασα-
 κυρία/κυρά, ἡ, 462
 Κυριακή/Κυρακή, 29
 Κυριάκος/-ης, ὁ, 359
 κυριελέσα, τά, 593
 κύριος/-ης, ὁ, 357
 κύριος/-ός, ὁ, 261–2
 κυρο-, 591
 κυροῦδες, οἱ, 457
 κύω, 1331
 κώδων/κουδούνι, 73
 κωλύω/κωλύγω, 1291
 Κωνσταντῖνος/Κωνσταντῆς, ὁ, 300, 359
 Κώνστας/-ής, ὁ, 355, 359
 Κῶς/Κῶ, ἡ, 575–6

λαβαίνω, λαβ-, 1353
 λαγκός, ὁ, -ά, τά, 298
 Λάζαρος/-ης, ὁ, 359
 λαθαίνω, λαθ-, 1353
 λαίλαψ, ἡ/λαίλαπας, ὁ, 305
 λαλιά, ἡ, 461
 λαμπάνω, λαμπασ-, 1326
 λαμπρός, 715
 λανθασμένος, 1366
 Λάρνακα, ἡ/-ας, ὁ, 305, 504
 λάρναξ/-ακα, ἡ, 459
 λās, ὁ, 454
 λαχαίνω, λαχ-, 1353

λαχανῆς, 788
 λεβάντε, το/-ες, ὁ, 685
 λεβάντες, ὁ, 427, 432
 λεβάντες/-ης, ὁ, 435
 λέγας, 1704
 λέγει/λέει, 23
 λεγμένος, 1388
 λέγω/λέω, 1268
 λέγω, εἶπ-/λεξ-, 1387–8
 λέ(γ)ω, λές, λέ, etc., 1291–3
 λείπω, λειψ-, 1353
 λεμονῆς, 788
 λέφας. *See* ἑλέφας
 λέων/-ος, ὁ, 260
 ληνός/λανός, 25, 26
 λιβεράριος, 731
 λιγάκι(ν), λίγο(ν), λίγος. *See* ὀλιγ-
 λιγότατος, 826
 λίζιος, ὁ, 435
 λίθος, ὁ/τό, 662
 λιμήν/λιμένας, ὁ, 304
 λιμ(ν)ιώνας, ὁ, 304
 λόγος, ὁ, -ια, τά, 299
 λόγος, ὁ, 271
 λόγου/τοῦ λόγου μου, etc., 895–900, 998, 1180
 λόγῳ μου, etc., 896–7
 λούγω. *See* λούω
 λούεται/λουῖται, 1287
 Λουκάς/-ης, ὁ, 359
 λουμπάρδα, ἡ, 459, 481
 λούμπινας, ὁ, 304
 λούνω. *See* λούω
 λούται. *See* λούεται
 λουτρό(ν), τό, 594
 λουτρό(ν), τό/-ός, ὁ, 608
 λουφές/(ᾶ)λοφάς, ὁ, 305, 434
 λούω/λούγω, 146, 1291
 λούω/λούνω, 1286, 1290
 λύω/λύνω, 1267, 1286, 1290
 λύω/λυῶ, 1268, 1304, 1450

μά, 2012, 2016
 μαβῆς, 788
 μαγαντζένος, ὁ, 434
 μαγάρι. *See* μακάρι(ον)
 μαγατζές, ὁ, 402, 427
 μάγειρος/-ας, ὁ, 299, 304
 μαγιστωρ/μαῖστωρ, 23
 Μαγώγηδες, οἱ, 359
 μαζώνω, μαζωξ-, 1268, 1326
 μαζώνω/μαζώνω, 1326
 Μάης/Μᾶς, ὁ, 305, 400
 μαθαίνω, μαθ-, 1353
 μαθημένος/μαθισμένος, 1367
 μαθητής, ὁ, 356, 360–1

μάθω/μαθῶ, 1513
 μαῖμου, ἡ, 569
 Μάιος/Μάης, ὁ, 357
 μαῖστρο-/μαστρο-, 591
 μακάρι(ον)/μαγάρι, 1881, 1882, 1883
 Μακεδών/-όνας, ὁ, 498
 μακελλεῖο(ν)/-ειό(ν), τό, 609
 μακράς/-ας, 834
 μακρέα/-ι(α), 834
 μάκρος, τό/δ, 257, 677
 μακρός/-ύς, 690, 745
 μαλάσσω, 1279
 Μαλλέας, ὁ, 403
 μαμελές, ὁ, 428
 μάνα, ἡ, -άδες, οἱ, 459, 481, 483, 484
 μάνητα, ἡ, 459
 Μανόλης. *See* Ἐμμανουήλ
 μάντις/-ης, ὁ, -ιδες/-ηδες, οἱ, 358
 Μαξιμού, ἡ, 570, 575
 Μαξιμώ, ἡ, 575
 μάρκον, τό, 592
 μαρμαρένιος/-έινος/-ένος, 737, 738
 Μαρού, ἡ, 570
 Μάρω, ἡ, 576
 μάς/μας/μάσε/μασέ (pers.), 48–9, 884
 μας (poss.), 906
 Ματθαῖος/-ίας, ὁ, 305
 μάτι(ν). *See* ὁμάτιον
 μαυρέας, ὁ, 403
 μαυρομάτης, 778, 779
 μαυρύτερος, 817
 Μαφρές, ὁ, 427
 μέ (prep.), 1963, 1993, 1994–5, 2003, 2005
 μέ/με (pron.), 862, 877
 μέ ὅλο πού, 1920, 1921
 μέ(ν)(α)(ν)(ε). *See* ἐμέ(ν)(α)(ν)(ε)(ν)
 μεγαλεῖο(ν), τό, 609
 μεγαλιότερος/-ιώτερος, 821
 μεγαλύττερος, 821
 μεγαλότατος, 826
 μεγαλότερος/-ώτερος, 820–1
 μεγαλύτερος, 817, 821
 μεγάλως, 832
 μέγας/μεγάλος, 794–801
 μεγιστάνας, τάς/-ες, τές, 300
 μεγιστάνος/-ας, ὁ, 260
 μέγιστος, 828
 μείζων, 688, 772, 776, 814, 820
 μεινέσκω/μεινίσκω. *See* μένω
 μεῖς. *See* ἡμεῖς
 μείων, 814
 μελανομήτρια, 782
 μέλας/μελανός, 689
 μέλι(ν), τό, 610, 678, 683
 μέλισσα, ἡ, 459, 494–5

μελιτζανῆς, 788
 μελλά, 1771
 μέλλον/-ος, τό, 664
 μέλος/-ι(ν), τό, 677
 μέν, 876
 μενεβισῆς, 788
 μένω/μεινέσκω/μνέσκω, 1298
 μένω/μεινίσκω/μνίσκω, 1296
 μερέα/-ά, ἡ, 21, 105, 460
 μερέα/-ᾶ, 28
 μερέα/-έ, ἡ, 105, 460
 μερέα/-ιά, ἡ, 105, 460
 μερικοί, 1187
 μερικόν (adv.), 836
 μέρος, τό/δ, 677
 μέρος/-ο(ν), τό, 665
 μεσάζων/-ος, 261
 μεστήτης/-ας, ὁ, 400
 μέσο(ν)/-ος, τό, 608, 664
 μέσον (εις), 2004, 2006
 μετά, 1999–2000
 μεταξύ μας, etc., 1186
 μεταστρέφω/-στρεύ(γ)ω, 1277
 μετέχω/-αίνω, 1295
 μέτρο(ν)/-ος, τό, 164, 608, 664
 μέτωπο(ν), τό/-ος, ὁ, 257, 608
 μέχρι (εις), 2000, 2005
 μή, 1877
 μή(ν), 1867, 1870, 1873, 1874, 1877, 1878, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1888, 1893, 1894, 1896, 1899, 1901, 1905, 1915, 1966, 1967, 1968, 2027
 μή(ν)/μήνα, 1879, 1880, 1898
 μηδέ, 2011, 2013, 2016, 2017, 2037
 μηδεῖς, 1024, 1980
 μηδεῖς/-ένας/-εγείς/μουδένας/-εγείς, 1055–6
 μηδεκαμιά/-κιαμιά, 1069
 μηδεκαμιά(ν)/-κιαμιά(ν)/μουδεκαμιά, 1069
 μηδεκανεῖς/-κιανεῖς, 1024, 1069
 μηδεκανένα(ν)/-κιανένα(ν), 1069, 1070
 μηδεκιαμῖς, 1069
 μηδεμία/-μιά/μουδεμιά, 1055, 1056–7
 μηδεμία(ν)/-μιά(ν), 1055, 1056
 μηδεμίας/-μιάς, 1055
 μηδέν, 1055, 1870, 1874, 1877, 1893, 1896
 μηδέν(α)(ν) (neut.), 1055, 1057
 μηδένα(ν)(ε)/μουδένα (masc.), 1055, 1056
 μηδενός, 1055, 1056
 μηδετινάς, 1070
 μηδετιποτένιος, 737
 μηδετίποτε(ς)/-τίβοτας, 1057
 μήκων/μάκων, 26
 μηλέα/-έ, 21
 μηλέα/-ιά, ἡ, 459
 μήν/μέν, 153–4
 μήν/μήνας, ὁ, 303

μήνας/μήνας, δ, 331
 μήνιγξ, ή/μήλιγγας, δ, 305, 532
 μηνύω/μηνώ, 1308
 μήπως (καί), 1893, 1905, 1967
 μήτε, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017
 μήτηρ/μητέρα, ή, 458, 459
 μητρι, ή, 490, 532, 537
 μητροπολίτης, δ, 356
 μητρυιά, ή, 461
 μία/μιά (num.), 1232, 1234
 μία/μιά (pron/art.), 1043, 1047
 μία(ν)/μιά(ν) (num.), 1232, 1235
 μία(ν)/μιά(ν) (pron/art.), 1043, 1048-9
 μιά/μνιά, 199, 1047
 μανοῦ, 1005, 1043, 1045, 1050, 1232, 1237, 1238
 μίας/μιάς/μιανής (num.), 1232, 1234-5
 μίας/μιάς/μιανής (pron/art.), 1043, 1047-8
 Μικέλες, δ, 427
 μικρά/-ή, 715
 μικράκι(ν), 807-8
 μικρόθεν/-θες, 164
 μικρό(ν) (adv.), 807, 836
 μικρός, 715
 μικρούλης, 785, 786
 μισθός, δ/μιστό(ν), τό, 592
 μισός. See ήμισυς
 μίσσος, δ/τό, 662
 Μιχαήλ/Μιχάλης, δ, 359
 μνέσκω/μνίσκω. See μένω
 μνημείο(ν), τό, 609
 μνιά. See μιά
 μόδιον/-ι(ν), τό, 610
 μοιρολογητής, δ, 356
 μόλις, 1906, 1910
 μόλος, δ/τό, 662
 μοναστήριον/-ι(ν), τό, 610
 μοναῦτα καί, 1906, 1910
 μοναχά(ς)/μονάχα(ς), 831, 834
 μοναχός μου, etc., 998, 1003-4
 μόνιος μου, etc., 1003-4
 μόνιος, 200
 μόνο(ν)/μόνε, 98, 831
 μόνο(ν)/μόνι, 831
 μόνος μου, etc., 998, 1003-4
 Μορέας/-ιάς, δ, 411
 Μορέως, τοῦ, 409
 μου (poss.), 903-4
 μου/μου (pers.), 877
 μουδ-. See μηδ-
 μουζούρι(ν), τό, 611
 Μουλίτας, δ, 400
 μούλκι(ν), τό, 611
 Μουράτης, δ, 359
 μουσειό(ν), τό, 609
 μουστάκι(ν), 11, 76

μούττη, 138
 μπαίλος, 23
 μπαίνω. See έμβαίνω
 Μπαντουής, δ, 356
 μπάρμπας, δ, 306
 μπαρούνης, δ, 357
 μπαρούνος, δ, 400
 μπαρούς, δ, 422
 μπάς/πάς καί (νά), 1898
 μπαχτζές/-ιάς, δ, 305, 434
 μπής, 23
 μπερδένω, μπερδεσ-, 1325-6
 Μπερνάρδος/-ής, δ, 359
 μπήγω/μπήχνω, 1281
 μπλιό. See πλιό
 μπορ-. See έμπορ-
 μπορά/ήμπορά/πορά, 1466, 1898
 μπώ. See έμπω
 μυαλός, δ/-ό(ν), τό, 592
 μύγα, ή, 459
 μύζω/μύσσω, 1280, 1281
 μωρέ, 695

νά, 1865, 1870, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1876, 1877, 1878,
 1880, 1881, 1882-3, 1885, 1888-9, 1890, 1891,
 1892, 1894, 1895, 1899-900, 1901, 1902, 1907,
 1913, 1914, 1920, 1922, 1923, 1925-6, 1930,
 1931, 1965-6, 1968, 1987-8, 2038. See also ίνα
 νά, νάτε, 1674-5
 νατουράλ(ε), 793
 Ναύπλιο(ν)/Ανάπλι(ν), τό, 610
 νείς. See είς
 νέος/νιός, 223, 705
 νεόπητα, ή, 459, 502
 Νέστορας/-ης, δ, 355, 359
 νεῦρο(ν)/-ρό(ν), τό, 594
 νεφρά, τά, 592
 νησόπουλο(ν), τό, 592
 νησιν, 137
 Νικόλαος/-ας, δ, 305
 Νικόλαος/-ής, δ, 359
 Νικολός, δ, 265
 νιώθω/νιώνω, 1278
 νομοκάνονον, τό, 593
 νοῦ(ς). See ένας
 νοῦς, δ, 423
 νοῦς/νός, δ, 423
 νταβάνι(ν), τό, 611
 Ντακοφοῦς, δ, 422
 ντεζούτελε, 793
 Ντζεφρές, δ, 427
 ντης. See της
 ντου, ντού. See του, τοῦ
 ντωνε. See των
 ντως. See τως

νυκτί, ή, 532, 537
 νυκτός/-οῦ, τής, 478
 νυκτοῦ/νυχτοῦς, τής, 478
 νύξ/νύκτα, ή, 459
 νώσις/νώση, ή, 535
 ξανα-. See έξανα-
 ξαυτόν/ξαύτου/ξαυτής μου, etc., 902
 ξε-, 1396. See also έξ
 ξενική/-ιά, 691
 ξεπέφτω/ξεπέφνω, 1277, 1390. See also εκπέπτω
 ξερνώ. See ξεερώ
 ξεφάντωση, ή, 535
 ξεψυχώ, ξεψυχη-, 1337
 ξη-, 1396-7, 1424
 ξύδι(ν), τό, 611
 ξύλον/ξύλον, 13
 δ, 2013, 2016
 δ, 846-7
 δ, 1123, 1124, 1126
 δ/ού, 846, 847
 δ for όπου, 1124
 δ δέ, 876, 2009, 2010
 δ είς/ένας ... τόν άλλο(ν)/τοῦ άλλου, 1166
 δ ίδιος, 998, 1002-3
 δ καθ-/όκαθ-. See καθ-
 δ λόγου/όλόγου μου, etc., 897
 δ μαυτός μου, 1183
 δ μέν, 876, 2009, 2010
 δβερ, 2013
 όγδοήκοντα/όγδοήντα/όγδόντα, 1254
 όγδοήντα/ούγουδουήντα, 1255
 όγδοος, 1258, 1261
 όγιατί. See διατί
 όγοιον/γοιόν, 1922, 1923. See also ως γοιον
 όγοιον for όπου, 1154
 όγοιος. See οίος
 όδε, 915, 1981
 όδείνα. See δείνα
 όδείνας/όδεινας. See δείνας
 όδρινός, 1088
 όδός, ή, 262-3
 Όδυσσεύς/-έας, δ, 403
 οί, 846, 851, 855-6
 οί, 1124, 1127
 οί/γολ, 851
 οί/ή, xxx
 οίκτίρμων/-ονας/-ονος, 772
 οίον, 1922
 οίος, 970, 1988
 οίος/όγοιος, 845, 989, 1087, 1091, 1140, 1150
 οίοςδήποτε, 1091, 1155
 οίπερ, 1130, 1132
 οίτινες, 1156, 1159-60

όκά, ή, 458, 469-70
 όκαθ-. See καθ-
 όκαί. See καί
 όκάποιος/(δ)κάποιος/ούκάποιος, 845, 1023, 1024,
 1070, 1076-82, 1977, 1978
 όκάποσος. See καμπόσος
 όκάτι(ν)/(δ)κάτι(ν)/ούκάτι, 1023, 1024, 1072,
 1074-5
 όκάτινα(ν)/(δ)κάτινα(ν), 1072, 1073
 όκάτινες/(δ)κάτινες/ούκάτινες, 1072, 1075
 όκάτινος/(δ)κάτινος/ούκάτινος (masc.), 1072, 1073
 όκάτινος/(δ)κάτινος/ούκάτινος (neut.), 1072, 1075
 όκάτις/(δ)κάτις/ούκάτις, 1024, 1070-5, 1977-8
 όκάτις/κάντις, 1073
 όκτακόσασα, τά, 1262
 όκτατος/όχτατος, 1231, 1258, 1261
 όκτώ/όχτώ/όκτών, 1248
 όλημερ(ι)νώς, 839
 όληνης, 1189, 1191, 1192
 όλιγάκι(ν)/λίγάκι(ν), 807
 όλίγο(ν)/λίγο(ν) (adv.), 807, 836
 όλίγος/λίγος/όλιγός, 1187
 όλλίγος, 135, 139
 όλομερ(ι)ς/όλημερ(ι)ς/όλημερνίς, 839
 όλονα, 1189, 1191
 όλονε/ούλωνε, 1189, 1191
 όλονής, 1189, 1191
 όλονυκτί(ς)/όληνυκτί(ς), 839
 όλωνώ(ν). See όλωνώ(ν)
 όλος/ούλ(α)ος, 1187, 1188-99
 όλοτελής, 840
 όλο(ν)ου (masc.), 1189, 1190
 όλο(ν)ου (neut.), 1189, 1192, 1193
 όλουνούς, 1189, 1193, 1196
 όλωνώ(ν)/όλονώ(ν) (fem.), 1189, 1196, 1197
 όλωνώ(ν)/όλο(ν)νώ(ν) (masc.), 1189, 1193, 1194-5
 όλωνώ(ν)/όλονώ(ν)/όλουνώ(ν) (neut.), 1189, 1197,
 1198
 όμιλία/έμιλία, ή, 96
 όμμάτιον/(δ)μάτι(ν), 610
 όμνές, όμνέ, 1389
 όμνύνει/όμνεί, 1287
 όμνύνω/όμνέ(γ)ω/όμνό(γ)ω, 1388-9
 όμνύνω/όμνύγω, 1291
 όμορφότατος, 826
 όμόφρων/-ονας/-ονος, 772
 όμπλεγάδος, 705
 όμπρός παρά, 1907, 1912
 όμως, 2012
 όνέστος, 705
 όνομα(ν), τό, 646
 όνοῦς. See ένας
 ό(ν)περ, 1130-2
 ό(ν)περ for όπου, 1134, 1983, 1987
 όντα(ν), 1906, 1907, 1909

- δντα(ς), 1754
 δντε, 1906
 δντέν, 1910
 δντως, 832, 833
 δξιά/δξά, 745
 δξύς, 745, 788
 δξω. *See* ξω
 δπερ, 1987
 όπεσαυτος, 994
 όπινιό(ν), ή, 570
 όπινιού, ή, 570
 όπλο(ν), τό, 598
 όπό/όπόδ'πό, 1096
 όποιος/ό ποιος/ό ποιος/ό όποιος/ό όποιός/
 ό όποιος, 1091, 1105–23, 1982, 1983, 1989
 όποιος/όποιος, 1070, 1091, 1111, 1139–46, 1988,
 1990, 1991–2
 όποιοςδήποτε, 1091, 1155
 όποιο(ν)ου, 1141, 1142
 όπόσος, 1004, 1016. *See also* πόσος
 όποτα, 1910
 όπότα(ν), 1906, 1908. *See also* ως όποτα(ν)
 όποτε, 1910
 όπου (adv.), 1092, 1908, 1909
 όπου/όπου/πού/όπού (relat.), 1092–7, 1983, 1985,
 1989, 1990, 1991
 όπού/πού (conj.), 1881, 1886–7, 1899, 1919,
 1967–8
 όπού/πού νά, 1900
 όπώρα, ή/όπωρα, τά, 593
 όπως νά, 1896, 1897
 όρδενάριος, 731
 όρδινιαστής, ό, 356
 όρνις/-ια, ή, 459
 όρος/-ι(ν), τό, 612
 ός, 1123, 1124–5, 1983, 1984
 όσον, 1906, 1907, 1909, 1911, 1988
 όσος, 1092, 1146, 1988, 1990, 1991
 όσος (καί) άν, 1150
 όσόσα, 1146
 όσόσοι, 1146
 όσπερ, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1986–7
 όσπερ for όποιος, 1133–4
 όσπίτιον/-ι(ν)/σπίτι(ν), τό, 610
 όσσος, 137
 όσταρία, ή/-ια/σταρί, τό, 612
 όστις/ότις, 1092, 1140, 1155, 1156–7, 1982, 1983,
 1984, 1986
 όταν, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 2027
 ότε, 1906. *See also* ως ότε
 ότεσαυτος/ότοσαυτος, 993
 ότι, 1884–6, 1889, 1890, 1899, 1918, 1919, 1967,
 1968, 1969, 2027, 2028
 ό.τι, 1155, 1156, 1159, 1983, 1990, 1991–2
 ότι νά, 1900
- δτινος, 1155, 1156, 1157
 ότόσος/ότοσος. *See* τόσος
 ότωποίος, 1024, 1091
 ού, 2013, 2016
 ού. *See* ό
 ού, 1124, 1125, 1127
 ού μή(ν), 1870, 1882
 ούγουδουήντα. *See* όγδοήντα
 ούδέ, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2016
 ούδεις, 1024, 1043, 1051, 1979–80
 ούδεις/-ένας/-εγεις, 1051–2
 ούδεκαμια/-καμιά/-κιαμιά, 1067, 1068
 ούδεκαμια(ν)/-καμιά(ν), 1067, 1068
 ούδεκανεις, 1024, 1067
 ούδεκανεις/-κανένας/-κιανεις/-κανενεις, 1067, 1068
 ούδεκανένα(ν)/-κιανένα/-κανείν (masc.), 1067, 1068
 ούδεκανένα(ν)/-κιανένα/-κανείν (neut.), 1067, 1068–9
 ούδεκανενός/-κανού, 1067, 1068
 ούδεμία/-μιά, 1051, 1053
 ούδεμία(ν)/-μιά(ν), 1051, 1053–4
 ούδεμίας/-μιάς, 1051, 1053
 ούδέν/δέν, 1051, 1055, 1865, 1866, 1869, 1872, 1874,
 1879, 1893, 1901, 1915, 1967, 1968, 2027
 ούδένα(ν) (masc.), 1051, 1053
 ούδέν(α)(ν) (neut.), 1051, 1054
 ούδενός/-ενοῦ/-ενενοῦ, 1051, 1052
 ούδετίβοτας/-ις/-τίβοται, 1041
 ούδετινά(ν)/ούδέτινα(ν), 1040
 ούδετινάς/ούδέτινας, 1024, 1040
 ούδέτινος, 1040
 ούδετίποτε(ς)/-α(ς)/-ις, 1023, 1024, 1040–1
 ούδετιποτένιος/-ένος, 737
 ούζουφρουτάριος, 731
 ού(κ), 1865, 1866, 1869, 1872, 1874, 1879, 1893,
 1899, 1901, 1915, 1967, 1968, 2037
 ούκ/(ού)δέν ξω, 1895
 ούκάποιος. *See* όκάποιος
 ούκάτ-. *See* όκάτ-
 ούκί. *See* ούχί
 ούλονων, 1193, 1195
 ούλος/ούλος. *See* όλος
 ούλουωνε, 1189, 1193, 1195
 ούπερ, 1130, 1132
 ούς, 1124, 1127
 ούσπερ, 1130, 1132
 ούτε, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017
 ούτινος, 1156, 1157, 1159
 ούτος, 875, 915, 952–69
 ούτος/(έ)τούτος, 1981
 ούχ, 125
 ούχ/ούκί, 208
 όφιδες, οί, 358
 όφισ/όφχιος, ό, 436
 όφίκιον/-ι(ν), τό, 610
 όχ. *See* εκ

- δχι μόνο(ν) ... αλλά/άμή/μάλλον δε και, 2011
 δχτατος. *See* δκτατος
 δχτώ. *See* όκτώ
 όψέ(ς), 830
- πά/πά, 1392
 πά (νά), 1795, 1857, 1898
 πά(γ)ω, πās, πā, etc., 1291–3, 1354. *See also*
 ύπάγω
 παγαίνω. *See* ύπάγω
 παγομένος/παγωμένος, 1367
 πάγος, ό/τό, 661
 παένα. *See* πάσα ένα
 παένας. *See* πάσα εις
 παθαίνω, παθ-, 1353
 παθομένος/παθωμένος, 1367
 πάθος, τό/ό, 677
 παιδιον/-ι(ν), τό, 613, 621
 παιδισ, ό, 257–8, 260, 644
 παιδισ/-ιος, ό, 250
 πάινε, 1392
 παίρνω. *See* έπαίρω
 πάκτο(ν)/-ος/πάχτος, τό, 608, 664
 παλαιός/παλαιός, 223
 παλαφρέ, τό/-άς, ό, 685, 686
 πάλι(ν)/πάλε, 98, 831
 παλιόσπιτο(ν), τό, 592
 παλιουριλας, ό, 304
 παλουκιά, ή, 461
 παμμεγέθης/-μέγεθος, 689, 762
 πāν (indecl.), 1200
 πā(ν). *See* ύπā(ν)
 πāν/πάντα, 1200, 1202
 πανευγενής/-εύγενος, 689
 πανευτυχής/-εύτυχος, 689
 πανιερότητα, ή, 459
 πάντα, 1200, 1204–5
 πάντας/-ες, 1200, 1203–4. *See also* πάσας
 πάντες, 1200, 1203
 παντοίος, 1187, 1188, 1213
 παντοίων/-ών, 1213
 παντός, 1200–1, 1202
 πάντοτε(ς), 830
 πάντων/-ων (masc.), 1200, 1203
 πάντων/-ων (neut.), 1200
 πāνω. *See* ύπάγω
 παξιμάδι(ν), τό, 611
 παπα-, 591
 παπαδία, ή, 460
 παπάς/-ās, ό, 306
 παπιούς/-ούς, ό, 422–4, 457
 παρά, 1993, 2000. *See also* όμπρός παρά
 παρά (πού) νά, 1924
 παρά/περί/περοῦ, 1924–5, 1995
 παραγγέλλω/παραγγέλλω, 1285

- παραγγέλλω/παραγγέλλω, 1286
 παρακαλώ, παρακαλήσ-, 1333–4
 παραμύθι(ν), τό, 611
 Παραστρόμονον, τό, 593
 παράφρων/-ονας/-ονος, 772
 πάρεξ νά, 1924
 παρήν, 813
 παρθένος, 705
 παρόν (indecl.), 813
 παροῦ, 813, 1124
 πάρτε, ή, 587
 πάρτε/-η, ή, 588
 πās και. *See* μπās και
 πās, 1187, 1188, 1199, 1200, 1205, 1206, 1214
 πāσα, 1200, 1201
 πάσα εις/ένας/πασαεις/-ένας, 1187
 πάσα εις/ένας/πασαεις/-ένας/-γεις/-νεις/πασένας/
 πασάνας/παένας, 1208, 1209–10
 πάσα ένα(ν)(ε)/πασάνα(ν)/πασένα/πασάνα(ν)/
 πāsαναν (masc.), 1208, 1211
 πάσα ένα/έν/πασάνα/πασένα/παένα (neut.), 1212
 πάσα ένός/πασαενός/πάσα ένοῦ/πασαενοῦ/
 πασανοῦ (masc.), 1208, 1210
 πάσα ένός/πασανοῦ (neut.), 1212
 πάσα κ(ι)ανεις/πασακ(ι)ανεις, 1212
 πάσα μία(ν)/πασαμιά(ν), 1211
 πάσα μία/πασαμιά, 1211
 πάσα μιās/πασαμιάς, 1211
 πασαεις, 1043, 1188, 1208
 πāsαι, 1200, 1204
 πάσα(ν) (indecl.), 1187, 1188, 1200, 1206–7
 πāsα(ν)/πάσην, 1200, 1201
 πασανών, 1210
 πάσας/πάντας, 1204
 πασατίβοτις, 1057
 πασέου, 1200, 1202
 πάσην. *See* πāsα(ν)
 πάσης/πάσας, 1202
 πάσου/πασοῦ, 1200, 1201
 πασών (fem.), 1200, 1204
 πασών (masc.), 1200, 1203
 πασών (neut.), 1200, 1205
 πατάσσω, 1279
 πατεράδες, οί, 337, 423
 πατερ(η)μά, τά, 593
 πατερμός, ό, 262
 πατέρος, τοῦ, 334
 πατήρ/πατέρας, ό, 304
 Πάτρα, ή, 459
 Πατροῦ/-οῦς, τής, 479
 Πατρών, τών/-οῦ, τής, 478
 πάττος, τό, 661
 παύω/παύτω, 1384, 1389
 πάχτος/-ι(ν), τό, 677
 παχύς, 745

πάω. *See* ὑπά(γ)ω and πά(γ)ω
 πέβ(γ)ω. *See* πέμπω
 πείθω, πείσ-, 1353
 πεί(ν). *See* εἰπεῖ(ν)
 πεινασμένος, 1367
 πέλαγος/-ο(ν), τό, 673, 676
 Πελοποννήσιος, ὁ, 435, 449
 πέμπτος/πέπτος/πέφτος, 1259–60
 πέμπω/πέβ(γ)ω, 1277
 πέντατος, 1231, 1258, 1259
 πέντε, 1246
 πέντε/-ι, 1246
 πενήκοντα/πεντήντα/πενήντα, 1253–4
 πέπερι/πεπέρι, τό, 611
 πέπτος. *See* πέμπτος
 πέπτω. *See* πίπτω
 πέρας, τό, 678–9
 περασμένος, 1273, 1366
 πέρδιξ/-ικα, ἡ, 459
 περί, 2001. *See also* παρά
 περιβόλαιον/-ιον/-ι(ν), τό, 610
 περίτου, 816, 818
 περοῦ. *See* παρά
 περπύρατα, τά, 593
 πέ(ς). *See* εἰπέ
 πεσαῦτος. *See* ἐπεσαῦτος
 πεσμένος, 1367, 1368
 πεσομένος, 1368
 πετάζω/πετώ, πεταξ-/πετασ-, 1339
 πεταλούδα, ἡ, 485
 πέτε. *See* εἰπέτε
 Πέτρος/-ῆς, ὁ, 300
 Πετροῦ, ἡ, 570
 πέφτος. *See* πέμπτος
 πέφτω. *See* πίπτω
 πηγαίνω. *See* ὑπαγαίνω
 πηδῶ, πηδηξ-, 1337
 πηλός, ὁ, -ά, τά, 298
 πῆχυς, ὁ/-α, ἡ, 463
 πῆχυς, ὁ/-η, ἡ, 536
 πῆχυς/-ας, ὁ, 306, 454
 πιά. *See* πιά(ν)
 πία, 1673
 πιάνω, πιασ-/πιακ-, 1348
 πιεῖν/πί(ν), τό, 609
 πιθάρια/πιθάρκα, 105
 πικρός/-ύς/πικρύς, 690, 715, 745
 πίνω, πι-, 1353
 πιά(ν)/πίον/πιά, 815–16
 πιά(ν)ο(ν), 816, 818
 πίπτω/πέπτω/πέφτω, 1390
 πίπτω/πέφτω, πεσ-, 1353
 πίστις/πίσι, 219
 πί(τ)α, ἡ, 459
 πιάω/πιάω, 1513
 πιαμένος, 1367
 πιάζω/πιάθω. *See* πλάττω
 πιανεμένος, 1366
 πλαντάζω/πλαντώ, πλανταξ-, 1268, 1339
 πλανῶ, πλανεσ-, 1340
 πλάσκω. *See* πλάττω
 πλάτανος, ὁ/-η, ἡ, 537
 πλάττη, ἡ/-ης, ὁ, 360
 πλάτος, τό/ὁ, 257, 677
 πλάττω/πλάθω/πλάσκω/πλάζω, 1389–90
 πλάττω/πλάσσω/πλάθω, 1278
 πλατύς, 745
 πλε(ι)ότερος, 822–3
 πλέα/πλιά/πιά, 815, 816, 818
 πλεῖστος, 828
 πλεῖων/πλέων, 772, 821
 πλέο/πλιά/πλιό, 822
 πλέο(ν) (adv.), 836, 837
 πλέος/πλεῖος/πλιός, 822
 πλέτερος, 823
 πλεύσιμος(ν), τό, 657
 πλέω, πλευσ-/πλεψ-, 1312
 πλέω/πλέγω, 1291
 πλεώτερο(ν)/πλιώτερο(ν), 816, 818
 πληγμένος, 1368
 πλῆν, 2012, 2013
 πλῆν (κ)ᾶν, 1901, 1902
 πληξημένος, 1368
 πλήρης/-ις, 839–40
 πλήρης/πλήρος, 764
 πλήσιος/πλήσιος, 705
 πλήσσω/πλήττω, 1279
 πλιάτερα, 818
 πλιάτερος, 823
 πλιά/μπλιά, 816
 πλιά/πουλιά, 822
 πλιάτερα, 816, 818
 πλούσιος/πλοῦσος, 705
 πλοῦτος, ὁ/τό, 662
 πλοῦτος/-ι(ν), τό, 677
 πνέω, πνευσ-, 1312
 πνέω/πνέγω, 1291
 πνίγομαι, πνιγῶ, 1324
 πνοή/πνογή, 143
 πογέριν, τό, 611
 ποδαπός, 1021
 ποδέα/-ιά, ἡ, 460
 Ποθού, ἡ, 570
 ποιόνε/ποιόνα, 1005
 ποιονῶν, 1005
 ποῖος/ποιός, 1004–9. *See also* ὁ ποῖος
 ποιουνοῦ/ποιανοῦ, 1005
 ποιῶ, ποισ-, 1390
 πολγάρης, ὁ, 357
 πολλά, 834

πολλάκις, 1903
 πολλότατα, 843
 πολλότατος, 828–9
 πολλύς, 139
 πολύ (adv.), 836, 837
 πολύς/πολύς/-ός, 801–6
 πονῶ, πονησ-/πονεσ-, 1340
 πορά. *See* μπορά
 πορπατηξιά, ἡ, 461
 πορπατῶ, πορπατηξ-, 1337
 Πορτογαλέης, ὁ, 300
 πορφυροῦς/-ός, 721
 πόσος, 1004, 1016–20
 ποταποῖος/ποτάποιος, 845, 1004, 1023
 ποταπός/ποτάπος/πόταπος, 1004, 1020–3
 πότε(ς), 830
 ποττέ, 135, 138
 πού. *See* δπου
 πουλητέ, ἡ, 585
 πουλητής, ὁ/ἡ, 400
 πουλητής/-ές, ὁ, 362
 πουλιό. *See* πλιό
 πράγμα/πράβμα, 156
 πράττω/πράσσω, 1279
 πρε-. *See* φρα-
 πρεζέντ(ε), 793
 πρεζέντες/-ος, 792
 πρέπ(ο)ν/-ος, τό, 664
 πρεπός, τό, 663
 πριγκιπα-, 591
 πρίγκιψ/πρίγκιπας, ὁ, 435
 πρίγκιψ/πρίγκιπος, ὁ, 260
 πρίν, 1907, 1912
 πρίντζης, ὁ, 357
 πρίντζιπες/-ας/-ος, ὁ, 435
 πριόρες/-ης/-ος, ὁ, 434
 πρίχου, 1907, 1912
 πρό μή(ν), 1907, 1913
 πρό, 2001
 προβαρισμένος, 1366
 προβάτα, ἡ, 459
 πρόβατο(ν), τό, 598
 προεστώς/-ός, 261, 813
 προίξ/προίκα, ἡ, 459
 προπαπποῦς/-πάππους/πρόπαππους, ὁ, 422
 πρὸς τὸ νά, 1897
 πρὸς, 1949, 1957, 1963, 1993, 1996
 πρόστιμος(ν)/-μαν, τό, 608, 645
 προτοῦ, 1907, 1912
 πρῶρα/πλῶρη, ἡ, 214, 536
 πρῶτα(ς), 831
 πρῶτις, 840
 πρῶτο(ν)/-α (adv.), 837
 πρωτοπαπᾶς/πρωτόπαπας, ὁ, 304
 πρώτος, 1258
 πρωτύτερος, 817
 πταισμένος, 1367
 πταίω/πταίγω, 146
 πταίω/φταίγω, 1291
 πταίω/φταίγω, 1290
 πτέρυξ/-υγα, ἡ, 459
 πυροστία, ἡ, 460
 πῶ. *See* εἴπω
 πῶς, 1884–6, 1889, 1890, 1967, 1968–9, 2027, 2028.
See also τὸ πῶς
 ράβδος, ἡ, 271
 ραζού, ἡ, 569
 ράπτω/ράβ(γ)ω, 1277
 ράπτω/ράφτω, 1275
 ράσσω. *See* ἄράσσω
 Ραφιομάτης, ὁ, 779
 Ρέθυμνο(ν)/Ρέθεμνος, τό, 664
 ρένιο, τό, 610
 ρέστος, τό, 661
 ρέω, ρευσ-, 1312
 ρέω/ρέγω, 1291
 ρημάσσω. *See* ἐρημάζω
 ρήξ/ρήγας, ὁ, 324–31
 ρηξοί, οἱ, 329
 ρῖγος, τό/ὁ, 677
 ρίζη, ἡ, 532, 537
 ρίπτω/ρίκτω/ρίχνω/ρίχτω, 1282–3
 ριχνημένος, 1368
 Ρόδο, ἡ/-ος, τῆς, 164
 ροζής, 788
 ρουθούνη, 73
 ρουφῶ, ρουφηξ-, 1336
 ρύω/ρύγω, 1291
 ρωμαῖος/ρωμῖος, 256, 705
 ρωμείκη/ρωμέκια, 692
 σά(ν), 1906, 1907, 1909, 1922, 1923. *See also* ὡσάν
 σαγιττ-/σαῖττ-, 23
 σάκκος, 138
 Σαλαμοῦς. *See* Σολομών
 σάλιο(ν), τό, 610
 Σάμιος, ὁ, 449
 Σαμψών/Σα(μ)ψός, ὁ, 261, 265
 Σανιτάδες, οἱ, 306
 σαπούνη, 73
 σαράκοντα/σαράντα. *See* τεσσαράκοντα
 σαρακοστός. *See* τεσσαρακοστός
 σαρκεστής, 788
 σας (poss.), 906–7
 σᾶς/σας/σᾶσε (pers.), 48–9, 885–6. *See also* ἐσᾶς
 σέ. *See* εἰς
 σέ(ν)(α)(ν)(ε). *See* ἐσέ(ν)(α)(ν)(ε)
 σε(ν)τεφκιαρής, 788
 σέ/σε(ν), 877, 878

σέβα, 1672, 1673
 σέβας, τό, 684-5
 σείω/σειώ, 1304
 Σελίμης, ό, 359
 Σεραφείμης, ό, 370
 σεργέντης/σιργέντης, ό, 356
 σέρνω. *See* σύρ(ν)ω
 σήκα, 1668, 1673
 σήκου, 1668, 1669, 1673
 σήκω, 1668, 1669, 1673
 σιγισμένος, 1366
 σιγουριτά, ή, 458
 σιγών/-ός, 813
 Σιμελίτας, ό, 400
 Σιμούς, ό, 422
 σιωπώ/-αίνω, 1311
 σκάω/σκάνω, 1290
 σκάω/σκώ, 1287
 σκέπος, τό, 661
 σκέτος, 705
 Σκιάθος, ή/τό, 300, 663
 Σκόπελος, ή/Σκούπελο, τό, 300
 σκότος, ό/τό, 661
 σκουδερισμένος, 1366
 σκουπόραβδον, τό, 592
 σκρίτο(ν), τό, 592
 σκρόφα, ή, 459
 σκύπτω/σκούβ(γ)ω, 1277
 σκύπτω/σκούφτω, 1275
 Σκυφοδιάβας, ό, 310
 σκώ. *See* σκάω
 σμίγομαι, σμιγώ, 1324
 σολή. *See* στολή
 Σολομών/Σαλαμούς, ό, 422
 σός, 914
 σοτοσκριτός, 705
 σου (poss.), 903, 904
 σοῦ/ἐσοῦ/ἔσου (pers.), 866, 867-8
 σοῦ/σου (pers.), 877, 878
 σουμπάσηδες/-άδες, οί, 358
 σούμπασης, ό, 388-9
 σουπία, ή, 460
 σπάει/σπᾶ, 1287
 Σπάνιας, ό, 305
 σπάω/σπάζω, 1290
 σπάω/σπῶ, 1287
 σπέζα, ή, 459
 σπέζα, ή/τά, 593
 σπείρω/σπέρνω, 1284, 1351
 σπεύδω, 1278
 σπηλαία/-ιά, ή, 460
 σπί(τι)ν. *See* δασίτιον
 σπλά(γ)χνο(ν)/-ος, τό, 608, 664
 σπλαχνική/-ιά, 691
 σπῶ. *See* σπάω

στά, 1668-9
 στάζω/στάσσω, 1280
 σταματῶ, σταματηξ-, 1336
 στάντε(ς), 1754, 1755, 1758
 στάντες (καί) νά, 1758, 1918, 1919
 στάτο(ν), τό, 592
 στεῖρος, 705
 στέκομαι, σταθ-, 1332
 στέκω/-ομαι, 1273
 στέλλω/στέλνω, 1267
 στελμένος, 1368
 στέλνω/στέρνω, 1286
 στέργος, τό, 661
 Στέφανος/-ής, ό, 300
 στή/σή, 219
 στήθος/-ι(ν), τό, 677
 στήκω/-ομαι, 1273
 στιμαριστής, ό, 356
 στολή/σολή, 219
 στουπί, 11
 στράτα, ή, 459
 στράτη, ή, 532
 Στράτης. *See* Εὐστράτιος
 στρατιώτης, ό, 376
 στράφα, στραφάτε, 1674
 στραφοῦ, 1667
 στρέφομαι, στραφ-, 1332
 στρέφω/στρέφτω, 1277
 στριγγή(ν)/-έα(ν)/-ιά(ν), 691
 στριμώνω, στριμωσ-/στριμωξ-, 1327
 σύ/ἐσύ, 866, 867
 συγγενάδες, οί, 358, 423, 762
 συγγενήδες, οί, 762
 σύγνεφο. *See* σύννεφο
 συγχωρῶ/συγχωρῶ, 1299
 σύκα/σοῦκα, 14
 συμβουλεύοσε, 1651
 συμπάθεια, ή/-(ε)ιο(ν), τό, 532, 612
 συμπάθεια/-ειος, ή, 262, 531
 σύν, 2001
 συνάγω/συνάζω, 1370
 συναλλήλως, 1186
 συνδε(σ)μένος, 1367
 συνήθεια, ή/-(ε)ιο(ν)/-ι(ν), τό, 532, 612, 631
 συνήθης, 761
 σύνηθος, τό, 664
 συνθέτω/-θένω, 1383
 συνίβαση, ή, 535
 σύννεφο/σύγνεφο, 143
 σύνοδος, ή, 285
 σύνορο(ν)/-ος, τό, 663
 σύρ(ν)ω/σέρνω, 1284, 1351
 σφαγμένος/σφασμένος, 1368
 σφάλω/σφάνω, 1286
 σφάνω/σφαίνω, 1294

σχολείο(ν)/σκολειό(ν), τό, 609
 σῶφρων/-ονας/-ονος, 772

τά (art.), 846, 860
 τά/τα (pron.), 887, 894-5
 ταδεποῖός, 1024, 1091
 ταῖς. *See* τές
 ταμεῖο(ν), τό, 609
 ταπεινούλης, 785
 τάρασσω/τάράζω, 1278
 τάς (art.), 297, 567, 702, 713, 846, 857
 τάς/τας (pron.), 886, 892-3
 ταῦτος, 928
 τάχατε(ς), 830
 ταχύ, τό, 838
 ταχύς, 745
 ταχ(υ)τέρου, 841
 τε καί, 2015
 τεθνεώς/-ώτης, 810
 τεθνεώς/-ώτος, 261, 810
 τεθνήκαν, 1766
 τεθνηκώς/-ός, 261, 810
 τέλειος, 706
 τέν. *See* τήν
 τέρας, τό, 678-9
 τές (art.), 846, 857-8
 τές/ταῖς (art.), 857, 893
 τές/τες/τέσε (pron.), 886, 893
 τέσσαρα/-ερα, 1242, 1245-6
 τεσσαράκοντα/σαράκοντα/σαράντα, 1253
 τεσσαρακοστός/σαρακοστός, 1261
 τέσσαρας, 1244, 1245
 τέσσαροῦ/-(-ε)ῖς/-ες/τέσσερ(ε)ῖς/-ες, 1242-6
 τεσσάρων/-ου(ν), 1246
 τέταρτος, 1258, 1259
 τετοιαῖς, 980, 983
 τέτοιος, 971
 τέτοιος. *See* τίτοιος
 τετρακοσάρια, ή, 1262
 τετρακόσατα, τά, 1262
 τεῦτος, 987-8
 Τζάνες, ό, 427
 Τζανιχίτες, 26
 τζαντουής, 788
 Τζέμης, ό, 359
 τζενιαστής, ό, 356
 τζεσιονάριος, ό, 435
 τζή/τζη. *See* τής
 τζι/τζι. *See* τσι/τσι
 τζιμνία, ή, 460
 τή(ν) (art.), 846, 849-50
 τή(ν)/τη(ν)/τήνε/τηνέ/(ν)τηνε (pron.), 49-50, 881, 882-3
 τηλικαῦτη, 997
 τηλικούτος, 997

τήν ἐμαυτή(ν) μου, etc., 1182
 τήν ήν, 1128-9
 τήν δπερ/δπερ. *See* τόν/τήν/τό δπερ/δπερ
 τήν/τέν, 848
 την/τηνα, 881, 882
 τηρῶ, τηρηξ-, 1337
 τής/ντης/τση/τζη (poss. pron.), 904, 905-6
 τής/της/τση/τση/τζή/τζη/τσης (pers. pron.), 881-2
 τής/τση(ς) (art.), 65, 123, 846, 848-9
 τίβετας, 1039
 τίβετι, 1039
 τίβετις, 1035, 1038
 τίβετσι, 1034, 1035, 1039
 τίβοτα(ς), 1034, 1035, 1037-8
 τίβοτα/τίοτα, 1034
 τίβοτε(ς), 1034, 1035, 1037
 τίβοτις, 1035, 1038
 τίβοτσι, 1034, 1038
 τίγρις/-ης, ό, τίγριδες/-ηδες, οί, 358
 τιμωρισμένος, 1366
 τινάδες, 1026, 1031, 1033
 τινάδων, 1032
 τινανε, 1010, 1011
 τινάς. *See* τις
 τινας. *See* τίς
 τινής, 1025
 τίνους, 1010
 τινούς, 1010, 1025
 τίντα/τίντα/εἰντα/ήντα, 845, 1013-16, 1720, 1881, 1894, 1895
 τίοτα. *See* τίβοτα
 τίπετις, 1037
 τίποτα(ς), 1034, 1035, 1036-7
 τίποτε(ς), 830, 1034, 1035-6
 τίποτι(ς), 1034, 1035, 1036
 τίς (art. fem.), 846, 857, 858-9
 τίς (art. masc.), 846, 853, 854
 τίς (pers. pron. sg.), 878-9
 τίς, τί, 1009-13
 τίς/τίνας, 1009, 1010
 τίς/τινάς, 1025-34, 1975-6
 τίς/τις (pers. pron. fem.), 886, 893-4
 τίς/τις/τίσε (pers. pron. masc.), 886, 891-2
 τιποῖος, 980
 τίτοιος/(ἐ)τέτοιος/έτοιος, 969-70, 971-2, 979, 1988
 τιποιουνοῦ, 980
 τό/το/τού/του (pron.), 883-4
 τό/τ' (art.), 846, 850
 τό/τού (art.), 846, 850
 τό (νά), 1913-14, 1925
 τό δ, 1128-9
 τό δπερ/δπερ. *See* τόν/τήν/τό δπερ/δπερ
 τό πώς, 1968-9. *See also* πώς
 τοιαύτη/τοιούτη, 973, 974
 τοῖος, 970, 980

τοιόσδε, 988
 τοιούτης λογής, 971
 τοιοῦτος, 969, 971–9
 τοῖς/τίς, 853
 τολμᾶν/τορμᾶν, 1337
 τόμου νά, 1906, 1908
 τό(ν) (art.), 846, 847
 τό(ν) ἐμαυτό(ν) μου, etc., 1181–3
 το(ν)/τονα (pron.), 879, 880
 τό(ν)/τού(ν) (art.), 846, 847, 848
 τόν ἐαυτό(ν) μου, etc., 900, 1179, 1180–1
 τόν ἐμαυτό(ν) μου, etc., 1179
 τόν ἐνιαυτό(ν) μου, etc., 1180, 1181
 τόν δν, 1128–9
 τό(ν)(ε)/το(ν)(ε)/τονέ (pron.), 49–50, 879, 880–1
 τόν(ε), τή(ν)ε, τό (relat. pron.), 51, 1091, 1097–105, 1983, 1984–5, 1990–1
 τόν/τήν/τό δπερ/δπερ, 1136–8, 1987
 τόξο(ν), τό/-ος, δ, 257
 τορμᾶν/τρομᾶν, 1337. *See also* τολμᾶν
 τόσο(ν), 1988
 τόσον ... ὥσαν καί, 2015
 τος, 875, 879
 τοσαύτη/τοσοῦτη, 994
 τόσο(ν) (adv.), 836
 τόσος/ἐτόσος/ὀτόσος/δοσος, 989–93
 τοσοῦτος, 993–7
 τόσος, 137
 τότε(ς)/ἐτότε(ς), 830
 τοῦ. *See* τό
 τοῦ (art. masc.), 846, 847
 τοῦ (art. neut.), 846, 850–1
 τοῦ λόγου μου. *See* λόγου
 τοῦ νά, 1889, 1896
 του/ντου (poss. pron. masc.), 904–5
 του/ντου (poss. pron. neut.), 904, 906
 τοῦ/του. *See* τό/το
 τοῦ/του/ντοῦ/ντου (pers. pron. masc.), 879–80
 τοῦ/του/ντοῦ/ντου (pers. pron. neut.), 883
 τού(ν). *See* τό(ν)
 τοῦ(ν) (art. fem.), 846, 856, 857
 τοῦ(ν) (art. masc.), 846, 851, 852
 τοῦ(ν) (art. neut.), 846, 860, 861
 τουνε (poss. pron.), 50, 907, 909
 τοῦν(ε)/τουνε (pers. pron. pl.), 886, 887, 889
 τουνη/ἐτουνη, 954, 955, 960
 τουνοῦ/ἐτουνοῦ (masc.), 954, 955, 957–8
 τουνοῦ/ἐτουνοῦ (neut.), 955, 963
 τουνω(ν)/ἐτουνω(ν) (masc.), 954, 955, 964, 965
 τουνω(ν)/ἐτουνω(ν) (neut.), 955, 968
 Τουρκί(ν), τό, 613
 τούς (art.), 846, 852, 854
 τους (poss. pron.), 907, 909–10
 τούς/τους/τούσε/τουσε (pers. pron. acc.), 886, 890–1

τούς/τους/τούσε/τουσε (pers. pron. gen.), 50–1, 886, 887, 889–90
 τούτην/ἐτούτην(α), 955, 961, 962
 τουτηνέ/ἐτουτηνέ, 955, 962
 τούτην/ἐτούτην, 961, 962
 τουτηνήν/ἐτουτηνήν, 962
 τουτηνῆς/-ο(ν)νῆς/ἐτουτηνῆς/-ο(ν)νῆς, 931, 953, 955, 960
 τοῦτον τον/τοῦν τόν, 969
 τουτονέ/-ά/ἐτουτονέ, 955, 962, 963
 τοῦτος/ἐτοῦτος, 875, 915, 952–69
 τουτο(ν)νοῦ/ἐτουτο(ν)νοῦ (masc.), 953, 954, 955, 957
 τουτο(ν)νοῦ/ἐτουτο(ν)νοῦ (neut.), 955, 963
 τουτουνοῦς/(ἐ)τουτο(ν)νοῦς, 955, 965, 966
 τουτουνω(ν)(ε)/ἐτουτο(ν)νω(ν)(ε) (fem.), 955, 966
 τουτουνω(ν)(ε)/ἐτουτο(ν)νω(ν)(ε) (masc.), 954, 955, 964, 965
 τουτουνω(ν)(ε)/ἐτουτο(ν)νω(ν)(ε) (neut.), 955, 968
 τραβᾶν, τραβῆσ-/τραβῆξ-, 1338
 τράντα, 22. *See also* τριάκοντα
 τρανύτερος, 817
 τράπεζα, ἡ/-ος, ἡ/δ, 531
 τραπέζη, ἡ, 532
 τράχηλος/-ας, δ, 299
 τραχύς, 745
 τρεῖς, 1240–2
 τρέλ(λ)ης, δ, 360
 τρέπομαι, -τραπ-, 1332
 τρέφομαι, τραφ-/θρεφ-, 1332
 τρέχω, τρεξ-, 1353
 τρία, 1240, 1242
 τρια-/τρα-, 22, 1253
 τριάκοντα/τρ(ι)άντα, 1252–3
 τρίους, 1242
 τριπλοῦς/-ός, 1263
 τρίτη/τρίτα, 1259
 τρίτος, 1258, 1259
 τρίχα. *See* θρίξ
 τριών/τριων/τριῶ(ν)/τριωνῶ(ν), 1240
 τρομάζω/τρομάσσω, 1267, 1280
 τρομᾶν, τρομησ-/τρομηξ-, 1337
 τρούλλα/-η, ἡ, 536
 τρώ(γ)ω, τρώς, τρῶ, etc., 1291–3
 τρώ(γ)ω, φα(γ)-, 1353, 1391
 τσακίζω, 123
 τσακκίζω, 138
 τσάμπρα, ἡ, 459
 τση(ς). *See* τῆς
 τση/τζη. *See* τῆς
 τσι/τσο' (art. fem.), 65, 123, 846, 857, 859–60
 τσι/τσο' (art. masc.), 846, 852, 853, 854–5
 τσι/τση/τσο' (pers. pron. fem.), 886, 894
 τσι/τση/τσο' (pers. pron. masc.), 886, 892
 τσιγαρίζω, 123

τσικνέας, 123
 τσίς, 886, 894
 τσίχλα, 123
 τσού, 123, 846, 852, 854
 τυλίσσω/τυλίγω, 1278
 τυπικουόττικον, τό, 592
 τυχαίνω, τυχ-, 1353
 τύχης, ἡ, 164, 547
 τῶ(ν) (art. fem.), 846, 856–7
 τῶ(ν) (art. masc.), 846, 851–2
 τῶ(ν) (art. neut.), 846, 860–1
 των(ε)/ντωνε (poss. pron.), 50–1, 907–8
 τῶν(ε)/των(ε) (pers. pron.), 50–1, 886, 887–8
 τως/ντως (poss. pron.), 908–9
 τῶς/τως (acc.), 892
 τῶς/τως (pers. pron. masc.), 886
 τῶς/τως/τῶσε (pers. pron.), 50–1, 886, 887, 888–9

 ὕλης, ἡ, 547
 ὕμεις, 872, 873
 ὕμετερος, 914
 ὕπα, 1354, 1672, 1673
 ὕπα, τό, 686
 ὑπαγαίνω/παγαίνω/(ὑ)πηγαίνω, 1391
 ὑπάγω, παγησ-, 1392
 ὑπά(γ)ω/πάω/πάνω, 1293–4, 1391
 ὑπάει, ὑπάουν, 23
 ὑπᾶ(ν)/πᾶ(ν), 1690
 ὑπέρ, 2001–2
 ὑπέρπυρο(ν), τό, 593. *See also* περπύρατα
 ὑπό, 2002
 ὑποθεσ(ι)άριος, δ, 435
 ὑποστατικό(ν), τό, 592
 ὑπόσχομαι, 1392
 ὑστέρου, 841
 ὑψηλόφρων/-ονας/-ονος, 772

 φά(γ)ω, φᾶς, φᾶ, etc., 1354
 φάβα, τό, 678, 683–4
 φαγεῖν/-ι(ν), τό, 609
 φαγωμένος, 1366
 φαίνοντας, 1915
 φαμελία, ἡ, 461
 φᾶ(ν), 1690
 φᾶν, τό, 687
 φαρδύς, 745
 φέη/φόν, τά, 685
 φερεντζές, δ, 427
 φερνημένος, 1368
 φέρω/φέρνω, 1267, 1274
 φθάνω/φτάνω/φτάζω, φταξ-, 1392
 φθόνος, δ/φτόνος, τό, 662
 φιλεῖν/-ι(ν), τό, 609
 Φίλιππος/-ας, δ, 300, 305
 Φίλιππος/-ῆς, δ, 359

 φιλντισί, τό, 611
 φιλοικτίρμων/-ονας/-ονος, 772
 φίνος, 705
 φιστικής, 788
 φλόξ/φλόγα, ἡ, 458
 φοβρός, 715
 φόβος, δ, φόβια, τά, 613
 φόη. *See* φέη
 φονεύς/-έας, δ, 403
 φορά, ἡ, 464
 φορε(σ)μένος, 1367
 φορεσ(α)/-ιά, ἡ, 460
 φόρος, τό, 661
 φορᾶν/-αίνω, 1295, 1310
 φουδούλης, 779
 φουμιστής, δ, 356
 φοῦμος, τό, 661
 φοῦντο(ν), τό, 592
 φοῦντο(ν)/-ος, τό, 661
 φρα-/φρε-/πρε-, 591
 φράκτης, δ/-η, ἡ, 400
 Φράντσας, δ, 305
 φρενήρης, 761
 φρενιμότητος, 826
 φρίττω, 1278
 φρόνιμος, 718
 φταίγω, φταίζω. *See* πταίω
 φταίετε/φταῖτε, 1287
 φτιάζω/φτιάχνω, 1274, 1282. *See also* εὐθειάζω
 φτόνος. *See* φθόνος
 φυγεῖο(ν)/-ιο(ν), τό, 610
 φυλάγω/φυλάω, 1291
 φυλάσσω/φυλάω, 1278
 φυλάσσω/φυλάω, φυλαξ-, 1339
 φύσις/-η, ἡ, 534, 552
 φυσῶ, φυσῆξ-, 1336
 φωνασμένος, 1368
 φῶς, τό, 678, 684
 φωτίου/-ιοῦ, τοῦ, 684

 χαβιαροπούλης, δ, 356
 χα(η)μένος, 23, 1368
 χαιρετῶ, χαιρετῆξ-, 1337
 χαίτη, ἡ/-ης, δ, 360, 569
 χαλεῖτε. *See* καλεῖτε
 χαλκεύς/-έας, δ, 403
 χαλᾶν/χαλνᾶν, 1392
 χάριν, 2002–3
 χάρις/-ιτα, ἡ, 459
 χάρτης/-ος, δ, 400
 Χασάνης, δ, 370
 χα(σ)μένος, 1367
 χατζη-, 591
 χάψι(ν), τό, 611
 χείλη, τά/ἡ, 678

χελος/-ι(ν), τό, 677
 χειμών/-ός, ό, 260
 χειμών/χειμώνας, ό, 304
 χειρί, ή, 537
 χείρων, 772
 χέω/χύνω, 1290
 χήρα, ή, -άδες, οί, 459
 χιδν/χόνι, 28
 χλιμιντρών, χλιμιντρηξ-, 1335
 χοῦς, ό, 423
 χρέη/χρέ, τό, 663
 χρέος/-ι(ν), τό, 612, 677
 χρέος/-ο(ν), τό, 676
 χρέος/χρίος, τό, 663
 χριμίζης/χρεμεζής. *See* κριμίζής
 χρίω/χρίζω, 1290
 χρόνος, ό, -ια, τό, 299
 χρουσός, 11
 χρυσομαλλούσα, 782
 χρυσοταρία/-θαρία, 210
 χρυσοῦς/-ός, 722
 χύνω. *See* χέω
 χῶμας, τό, 650
 χώρα, ή, 474
 χωράφι, τό/-η, ή, 644
 χωράφιον/-ι(ν), τό, 610, 633
 χωρίον/-ιό(ν), τό, 613
 χωρίς, 2003
 χωρῶ, χωρησ-/χωρεσ-, 1334, 1340

ψευδής/-ός, 689, 768
 ψῆλος, τό, 661
 ψήνω/ψένω, 1295
 ψῆφος, ή/ό/τό, 663
 ψοῦνος. *See* ψώνι(ν)
 ψυχή, ή, 537
 ψυχή/ψή, 154
 ψωμόπουλο(ν), τό, 592
 ψώνι(ν)/ψοῦνος, τό, 664

ὤν, 1124, 1127, 1128
 ὤνπερ, 1130, 1132, 1133
 ὤς, 1884, 1906, 1909, 1922
 ὤς γοῖον/γοιόν, 1151, 1922, 1923. *See also* δοῖον
 ὤς καθώς, 1922
 ὤς δοποτα(ν)/δοπότα(ν), 1906, 1911
 ὤς δου, 1907, 1912
 ὤς δε/ὠσότε, 1906, 1907, 1910, 1912
 ὤς δου/ὠσότι, 1906, 1907, 1910
 ὤς ποτε/ὠσποτε, 1906, 1910, 1911
 ὤς που/ὠσπου, 1906, 1907, 1912, 1913
 ὠσάν, 1906, 1907, 1909, 1922, 1923. *See also*
 σά(ν)
 ὠσαύτως καί, 2010
 ὠσπερ, 1922, 1923
 ὠσπερ καί, 2010
 ὠστε, 1900, 1906, 1907, 1910, 1911, 1913
 ὠστε (ό)πού/δπου, 1900, 1907, 1912, 1913
 ὠφελῶ, ὠφελισ-/ὠφελισ-, 1340

Index of Innovative Greek Endings and Suffixes

This index includes all endings and inflectional suffixes that are not inherited from earlier stages of the language. In order not to overburden this index, for phonetic and phonological variants the reader is referred to the relevant sections in Part I: raising vocalism (e.g. -ιτι for -ετε 2.5.4); back vowel raising (e.g. -ους for -ος or hypercorrection thereof, e.g. -ον for -ουν 2.8.3); deletion of final /s/ through dissimilation (e.g. -ου for -ους, -έ for -ές 3.7.1.1); nasal deletion before stops (e.g. -οται for -ονται 3.6.2.1); addition and deletion of final /n/ (e.g. -ων for -ω or -ου for -ουν 3.7.2.1 and 3.7.2.2); addition of word-final vowel (e.g. -ωνε for -ων, -ούσινε for -ούσι(ν), -όμουνε for -όμουν 2.6.3); syncope (e.g. -τε for -ετε 2.7.2); gemination (e.g. -μεθθαν for -μεθα 3.4.2.5); different stress patterns (e.g. -άμεν in ἐπαιζάμεν for ἐπαίζαμεν 4.2.3); synizesis (e.g. -ιούς for -ίους, -ιά for -έα/-ια 2.9.4). Also not included are endings that are the result of a combination of ligatures, e.g. -ομένστα(ν), which in fact represents -ομέστα(ν).

For nouns only nom. sg. is included, unless other cases or the plural cannot be inferred (e.g. -άδες).¹ For adjectives only the nom. sg. ending of masc. is listed, unless e.g. the feminine or neuter counterpart cannot be inferred on the basis of SMG (e.g. fem. -αρέα). For verbs only 1 sg. is listed (e.g. -ούσα, but not -ούσε, -ούσε, etc.), unless there are notable variant forms for other persons (e.g. 3 pl. -ασαν). For forms of the copula εἶμαι, for pronouns, articles and numerals and for endings that appear with single lexical items (e.g. λέγας), the reader is referred to the Index of Greek Words and Phrases.

-α
 adjectives
 fem. nom./acc./voc. sg., [πρεζέντα] 792
 nouns
 masc. gen. sg., [μῆνα] 316, [ρήγα] 324
 verbs
 1 sg. aor. ind. pass., [ἐγράφθα] 1629
 2 sg. pres. imp. act., [φεῦγα] 1650
 -ά
 adjectives
 neut. nom./acc./voc. pl., [ύγια] 763
 nouns
 fem. nom. sg., [όκά] 469, [μερά] 506
 -αγα
 verbs
 1 sg. imperf. act., [ἐγρικαγα] 1571
 -ά(γ)εις/ά(γ)ης, -ά(γ)εν/-ά(γ)η
 verbs
 2 and 3 sg. pres. ind./subj. act., [γρικά(γ)εις] 1461
 -ά(γ)ουν
 verbs
 3 pl. pres. ind./subj. act., [βαρά(γ)ουν] 1461

-άδες
 nouns
 fem. nom./acc./voc. pl., [άγοράδες] 464, [όκάδες] 470, [χηράδες] 474, [γρ(ι)άδες] 507, [άδεληφάδες] 537, [νυφάδες] 546
 masc. nom./acc./voc. pl., [παπάδες] 306, [άντράδες] 317, [ρηγάδες] 324, [μαθητάδες] 361, [proper names] 455, [συγγενάδες] 762

-άειν
 verbs
 pres. inf. act. [γρικάειν] 1684
 -άει/-άης, -άει/-άη
 verbs. *See* -ά(γ)εις, -ά(γ)ει
 -αῖον/-έοι
 adjectives
 masc. nom./voc. pl., [άπομοναροῖοι] 729
 nouns
 masc. nom./voc. pl., [proper names] 455

-ᾶμαι
 verbs
 1 sg. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γρικᾶμαι] 1478

¹ For masc. Pontic nouns with nom. sg. in -ων/-όν (e.g. ό Σοῦτον, ό Κυριακόν), see II, 1.4. For Cypriot gen. pl. nominal endings that are morphologically identical to the accusative (e.g. τά ράσα τοῦς καλογέρους), see II, 1.2. For Cycladic acc. pl. -ου/-οι endings (e.g. τίς γερόντο, τίς προεστοί), which are identical to the nominative, see II, 1.3.

- αμαν
verbs
1 pl. aor. ind. act., [ἐγράψαμαν] 1615
- ᾶμε
verbs
1 pl. pres. ind./subj. act., [γρικᾶμε] 1461
- ᾶμεθεν
verbs
1 pl. aor. ind. middle, [ἤρξαμεθεν] 1763
- αμεν
verbs
1 pl. imperf. act., [ἐβάραμεν] 1571
- ᾶμην
verbs
1 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐτρεμάμην] 1543
- αμουν
verbs
1 sg. aor. ind. middle, [ἀφηγήσαμουν] 1763
- ᾶν(ε)
verbs
3 pl. pres. ind./subj. act., [γρικᾶν(ε)] 1461
- άντα
gerund, participles. *See* -ντα
- άντοι
nouns
masc. nom./voc. pl., [proper names] 456
- ᾶντον
verbs
3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρᾶντον] 1592
- ασαν
verbs
3 pl. aor. ind. act., [ἐγράψασαν] 1615
- ασι
verbs
3 pl. aor. ind. act., [ἐγράψασι] 1615
- ασον
verbs
3 pl. imperf. act., [ἐγράψασον] 1533
- άσουν
verbs
2 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγρικάσουν] 1592
- ατα
nouns
neut. nom./acc./voc. pl., [ἔργατα, προσώπατα] 598
- ᾶταν
verbs
3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐφοβᾶταν] 1592
- ατε
verbs
2 pl. aor. imp. act., [ἴδατε] 1675
2 pl. imperf. act., [ἐγράφατε] 1533
- άτοι
nouns
masc. nom./voc. pl., [proper names] 457
- ᾶω
verbs
1 sg. pres. ind./subj. act., [γρικᾶω] 1461
- ε
nouns
fem. nom./acc./voc. sg., [πάρτε] 587
- έ
nouns
fem. nom./gen./acc./voc. sg., [μερέ] 506, [βαλετέ] 585
- έα
adjectives
fem. nom./acc./voc. sg., [ἀπομοναρέα] 728
- έας
nouns
masc. nom. sg., [βασιλέας] 403
- έδες
nouns
fem. nom./acc./voc. pl., [βαλετέδες] 585
masc. nom./acc./voc. pl., [μαμελέδες] 428
- ειγα
verbs
1 sg. imperf. act., [ἐβάρειγα] 1571
- ειε
verbs
2 sg. pres. imp. act., [βάρειε] 1653
3 sg. imperf. act., [ἐβάρειε] 1571
- ειες
verbs
2 sg. imperf. act., [ἐβάρειες] 1571
- ειέσαι
verbs
2 sg. pres. ind./subj. pass., [βαρ(ε)ιέσαι] 1478
- ειέσται/-ειέσθαι
verbs
pres. inf. pass., [βαρ(ε)ιέσται] 1688
- ειέστε/-ειέσθε
verbs
2 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιέστε] 1593
2 pl. pres. imp. pass., [βαρ(ε)ιέστε] 1657
2 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [βαρ(ε)ιέστε] 1478
- ειέτε
verbs
2 pl. pres. imp. act., [βαρ(ε)ιέτε] 1653
- ειέτον
verbs
3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιέτον] 1592
- ειόμαι/-ειώμαι
verbs
1 sg. pres. ind./subj. pass., [βαρ(ε)ιόμαι] 1478
- ειόμεσθα
verbs
1 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιόμεσθα] 1593

- (ε)ιόμουν
verbs
1 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιόμουν] 1592
- (ε)ιόνται
verbs
3 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [βαρ(ε)ιόνται] 1479
- (ε)ιόνταν
verbs
3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιόνταν] 1593
- (ε)ιόντησαν
verbs
3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιόντησαν] 1593
- (ε)ιόσουν
verbs
2 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιόσουν] 1592
2 sg. pres. imp. pass., [βαρ(ε)ιόσουν] 1657
- (ε)ιότον
verbs
3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιότον] 1592
- (ε)ιότουν
verbs
3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιότουν] 1592
- (ε)ιούμαι
verbs
1 sg. pres. ind./subj. pass., [βαρ(ε)ιούμαι] 1478
- (ε)ιούμασθε
verbs
1 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γρικ(ε)ιούμασθε] 1478
- (ε)ιούμεσθα
verbs
1 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [βαρ(ε)ιούμεσθα] 1478
- (ε)ιούμουν
verbs
1 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιούμουν] 1592
- (ε)ιούνται
verbs
3 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [βαρ(ε)ιούνται] 1479
- (ε)ιούνταν
verbs
3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγρικ(ε)ιούνταν] 1592
3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιούνταν] 1593
- (ε)ιούντο
verbs
3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιούντο] 1592
- (ε)ιουσουν
verbs
2 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβάρ(ε)ιουσουν] 1592
- (ε)ιούσουν
verbs
2 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιούσουν] 1592
- (ε)ιούσθε/-ε)ιούσθε
verbs
2 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιούσθε] 1593
2 pl. pres. imp. pass., [βαρ(ε)ιούσθε] 1657
- είσουν
verbs
2 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρείσουν] 1592
- (ε)ιώντο
verbs
3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιώντο] 1593
- εμεν
verbs
1 pl. aor. ind. act., [ἐγράψαμεν] 1615
1 pl. aor. ind. pass., [ἐγράφημεν] 1629
1 pl. imperf. act., [ἐγράφεμεν] 1533
- εν
verbs
3 sg. imperf. act., [ἐβάρην] 1571
- ένιος
adjectives
masc. nom. sg., [μαρμαρένιος] 738
- ένος
adjectives
masc. nom. sg., [μαρμαρένος] 738
- έντα
gerund, participles. *See* -ντα
- έντας
gerund, participles. *See* -ντας
- ενταν
verbs
3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφενταν] 1546
- εντον
verbs
3 sg. aor. ind. middle, [ἄρξεντον] 1763
3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφεντον] 1544
- έου
nouns
fem. gen. sg., [πολέου] 552
- ες
adjectives
masc. nom. sg., [πρεζέντες] 792
- nouns
fem. nom./acc./voc. pl., [φύσες] 552, [δύναμες] 560, [πάρτες] 587
masc. nom. sg., [Πολίτες] 376, [λεβάντες, πρένστιπτες] 432
- verbs
2 sg. imperf. act., [ἐβάρης] 1571
- ές
nouns
masc. nom. sg., [πουλητές] 360, [βασιλές] 403, [μαμελές] 428
- verbs
2 sg. aor. imp. act., [ἴδεις] 1675

-εσουω/-έσουω

verbs

2 sg. aor. ind. middle, [έκαυχήσεσούν] 1763

2 sg. imperf. pass., [έγράφεσούν] 1544

-εταν

verbs

3 sg. imperf. pass., [έγράφεταν] 1544

2 pl. aor. ind. act., [έγράφεταν] 1615

-ετουω

verbs

3 sg. imperf. pass., [έγράφετουω] 1544

-η

adjectives

neut. gen. sg., [μαυρομάτη] 779

-ή

fem. nom./acc./voc. sg., [εὐγενή] 763

-ή

adjectives

masc. gen. sg., [εὐγενή] 763

-ήγεσθε

verbs

2 pl. imperf. pass. [έβαρήγεσθε] 1593

-ήγεσούν

verbs

2 sg. imperf. pass., [έβαρήγεσούν] 1592

-ήγετο

verbs

3 sg. imperf. pass., [έβαρήγετο] 1529

-ηγόμασθε

verbs

1 pl. imperf. pass., [έβαρηγόμασθε] 1593

-ήγομουν

verbs

1 sg. imperf. pass., [έβαρήγομουν] 1592

-ηγόντησαν

verbs

3 pl. imperf. pass., [έβαρηγόντησαν] 1593

-ηγόσασθε

verbs

2 pl. imperf. pass., [έβαρηγόσασθε] 1593

-ήγουνταν

verbs

3 pl. imperf. pass., [έβαρήγουνταν] 1593

-ηδες

adjectives

masc. nom./acc./voc. pl., [άπομονάρηδες] 729, [μαυρομάτηδες] 779

nouns

masc. nom./acc./voc. pl., [τραδιτόρηδες] 272, [πάπηδες] 306, [δούκηδες] 324, [άγέρηδες] 331, [κουρτέσηδες] 376, [βεζιρηδες] 389, [proper names] 456

-ηδες

nouns

fem. nom./acc./voc. pl., [άδελφήδες] 537, [εὐγενήδες] 762

masc. nom./acc./voc. pl., [κατηδες] 384, [Γλυκηδες] 753

-ηεν

verbs

3 sg. aor. ind. pass., [έχάρηεν] 1629

-ηκα

verbs

1 sg. aor. ind. pass., [έγράφηκα] 1629

-ηκάμαν

verbs

1 pl. aor. ind. pass., [έγράφηκάμαν] 1629

-ήκασι

verbs

3 pl. aor. ind. pass. [έγραφθήκασι] 1629

-ήκετε

verbs

2 pl. aor. ind. pass., [έγραφθήκετε] 1629

-ημαν

verbs

1 pl. aor. ind. pass., [έγράφημαν] 1629

-ηνα

verbs

1 sg. aor. ind. pass., [έγράφηνα], 1629

-ης

adjectives

masc. nom. sg., [άπομονάρης] 728, [μαυρομάτης] 779, [μικρούλης] 786

nouns

fem. nom./voc. sg., [Κρήτης, τύχης]

masc. nom. sg., [μάστορης] 340, [βεζιρης] 388

-ής

adjectives

masc. nom. sg., [κιρμιζής] 788

nouns

masc. nom. sg., [κατής] 384

-ησε

verbs

2 sg. aor. imp. pass., [γράφησε] 1664

-ητα

nouns

neut. nom./acc./voc. pl., [δάσητα] 665

-ιά

adjectives

fem. nom./acc./voc. sg., [κακιά] 691, [κιρμιζιά] 788

-ιάδες

nouns

fem. nom./acc./voc. pl., [άνηψιάδες] 519

masc. nom./acc./voc. pl., [βασιλιάδες] 404

-ιάς

nouns

masc. nom. sg., [βασιλιάς] 403

-ιας

nouns

masc. nom. sg., [βασιλιάς] 403

-ιάται

verbs

3 sg. pres. ind./subj. pass., [βαριάται] 1478

-ιε-

verbs. See -(ε)ιε-

-ιένται

verbs

3 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γρικιένται] 1479

-ικον

adjectives

neut. nom./acc./voc. sg., [άπομονάρικον] 728, [μαυρομάτικον] 779

-ίματα

nouns

neut. nom./acc./voc. pl., [γραψίματα] 657

-ίματος

nouns

neut. gen. sg., [γραψίματος] 657

-ιμάτου

nouns

neut. gen. sg., [γραψιμάτου] 657

-ιμον

nouns

neut. nom./acc./voc. sg., [γράψιμον] 657

-ιν

adjectives

neut. nom./acc./voc. sg., [άπομονάριν] 728, [μαυρομάτιν] 779, [μικρούλιν] 786

-ιν

adjectives

neut. nom./acc./voc. sg., [κιρμιζιν] 788

-ιο-

verbs. See -(ε)ιο-

-ιόδες

nouns

masc. nom./gen./acc. pl., [δανειστιόδες] 451

-ιόν

nouns

fem. nom./acc./voc. sg., [κονδισιόν] 580

-ιόνες

nouns

fem. nom./acc./voc. pl., [κονδισιόνες] 580

-ιός

nouns

fem. nom. sg., [κονδισιός] 580

fem. gen. sg., [κονδισιός] 580

masc. nom. sg., [δανεισιός] 451

-ιότες

nouns

masc. nom./gen./acc. pl., [δανειστιότητες] 451

-ιου-

verbs. See -(ε)ιου-

-ιούς

nouns

masc. gen. pl., [δανεισιούς]

-ι(ς)/-ι(ς)

adverbs, [γλήγορι(ς), όλημερι(ς)] 838

-ισσα

adjectives

fem. nom./acc./voc. sg., [μαυρομάτισσα] 779

-ιω-

verbs. See -(ε)ιω-

-ιώ/-ιός

nouns

masc. gen. sg., [βασιλιός] 403

-μαν

nouns

neut. nom./acc./voc. sg., [γράμμαν, όνομαν] 646

-μας

nouns

neut. nom./acc./voc. sg., [αίμας] 646

-ματιού

nouns

neut. gen. sg., [στρωματιού] 646

-ματίων

nouns

neut. gen. pl., [φορτωματίων] 646

-μάτου

nouns

neut. gen. sg., [γραμμάτου, όνομάτου] 646

-ντα

participles

neut. nom./acc. sg., [έχοντα, όντα, ρηθέντα] 811

verbs

aor. gerund, [άποθανόντα] 1697, [γράφοντα/-

αντα, σταθόντα/-έντα] 1697

pres. gerund, [γράφο(υ)ντα, γρικώντα,

βαρούντα] 1697

-ντας

verbs

aor. gerund, [άποθανόντας] 1697,

[γράφοντα/-αντα] 1698

pres. Gerund, [γράφο(υ)ντας/-αντας,

γρικώντας, βαρούντας] 1697

participles

masc. nom. sg., [γράφοντας, παρόντας,

ειρηθέντας] 811

-ντες

verbs

aor. gerund, [άποθάνοντες] 1697

pres. gerund, [γράφοντες, γρικώντες] 1697

- ντος
verbs
aor. gerund, [ἐλθόντος] 1698
- ο
nouns
fem./masc. nom./gen./voc. sg., [Πόδο, Δῆμο] 272, [σύνοδο, ἱερώνυμο] 285
- ό
nouns
fem./masc. nom. sg., [Δαμασκό, γαμπρό] 262
masc. gen. sg., [προγονό] 262
masc. voc. sg., [Κλιτοβό] 262
- οι
adjectives
masc. nom. pl., [μαυρομάτοι] 779
nouns
masc. nom./voc. pl., [κοράκοι] 340; [Βαρούχοι] 457
- ομαν
verbs
1 pl. pres. ind./subj. act., [γράφομαν] 1435
- όμαστε/-όμασθε
verbs
1 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γραφόμεσθε] 1446, [γρικόμασθε] 1478
1 pl. imperf. pass., [εγραφομάσθε] 1545
- όμαστον
verbs
1 pl. imperf. pass., [εγραφομάστον] 1544
- όμεθεν
verbs
1 pl. imperf. pass., [εγραφομέθεν] 1544
1 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γραφομέθεν] 1446
- όμεστα/-όμεσθα
verbs
1 pl. imperf. pass., [εγραφομέστα] 1545, [εγρικόμέστα] 1593
1 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γραφομέστα] 1446
- όμεστε/-όμεσθε
verbs
1 pl. aor. ind. middle, [εγενόμεσθεν] 1763
1 pl. imperf. pass., [εγραφομέσθε] 1544
1 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γραφομέσθε] 1446
- ομουν
verbs
1 sg. imperf. pass., [εγράφομουν] 1543
- όμουν
verbs
1 sg. aor. ind. middle, [εγινόμουν] 1763
1 sg. imperf. pass., [εγραφομουν] 1543, [εγρικόμουν] 1592
- ονας
adjectives
masc. nom. sg., [ἐλεήμονας] 773
- ονμου/-όνμου
verbs
1 sg. imperf. pass., [εγράφονμου] 1543
- ονος
adjectives
masc. nom. sg., [ἐλεήμονος] 773
nouns
masc. gen. sg., [Σούτονος] 272
- οντα/-όντα
gerund, participles. *See* -ντα
- ονταν/-όνταν
verbs
3 sg. imperf. pass., [εγράφονταν] 1544, [εγραφόνταν] 1544
3 pl. imperf. pass., [εγράφονταν] 1546, [εγραφόνταν] 1546
- όνταν/-ώνταν
verbs
3 pl. imperf. pass., [εγρικόνταν], 1593
- οντας/-όντας
gerund, participles. *See* -ντας
- όντασι
verbs
3 pl. imperf. pass., [εγραφόντασι] 1546
- όντασι/-ώντασι
verbs
3 pl. imperf. pass., [εγρικόντασι] 1593
- οντες/-όντες
gerund. *See* -ντες
- όντεσαν
verbs
3 pl. imperf. pass., [εγραφόντεσαν] 1546
- όντησαν
verbs
3 pl. imperf. pass., [εγραφόντησαν] 1546, [εγρικόντησαν] 1593
- οντο
verbs
3 sg. imperf. pass., [εγράφοντο] 1544
- οντος/-όντος
gerund. *See* -ντος
- οντου
verbs
3 sg. imperf. pass., [εγράφοντου] 1544
3 pl. imperf. pass., [εγράφοντου] 1546
- όντουςαν
verbs
3 pl. imperf. pass., [εγραφόντουςαν] 1546
- όντουςταν
verbs
3 pl. imperf. pass., [εγραφόντουςταν] 1546
- ος
adjectives
fem. gen. sg., [βεργόλικος] 693

- nouns
fem./masc. gen. sg., [Πόδος, Ματθαῖος], 272, [Κόρινθος, Πίνδαρος] 285
fem. gen. sg., [γέφυρος] 494
- ός
adjectives
masc. nom. sg., [γλυκός] 745
nouns
fem. gen. sg., [κοπελός] 474
fem./masc. gen. sg., [δόδος, Νικολός] 262
masc. gen. sg., [ἀμιρός] 306
- οσιν
verbs
3 pl. imperf. act., [εγράφοσιν] 1533
See also -ωσιν
- οσουν
verbs
2 sg. imperf. pass., [εγράφοσουν] 1544
2 sg. pres. imp. pass., [γράφοσουν] 1651
- όσουν/ώσουν
verbs
2 sg. imperf. pass., [εγρικόσουν] 1592
2 sg. pres. imp. pass., [γρικόσουν] 1657
- όστενε
verbs
2 pl. imperf. pass., [εγραφοόστενε] 1545
- όταν
verbs
3 sg. imperf. pass., [εγραφοόταν] 1545, [εγρικόόταν] 1592
- οτον/-ότον
verbs
3 sg. imperf. pass., [εγράφοτον] 1544, [εγραφοότον] 1544, [εγρικότον] 1592
- οτουν/-ότουν
verbs
3 sg. imperf. pass., [εγράφοτουν] 1544, [εγραφοότουν] 1544, [εγρικότουν] 1592
- ου
adjectives
masc. gen. sg., [ἀπομονάρου] 728
adverbs, [ύστερου] 840
nouns
fem. gen. sg., [θαλάσσου] 494
masc. gen. sg., [κοράκου] 340
verbs
2 sg. aor. imp. pass., [γράψου] 1664
- ού
nouns
fem. nom./acc./voc. sg., [άλουπού] 570
- οῦ
nouns
fem. gen. sg., [γυναικού] 474
masc. gen. sg., [μηνοῦ] 316
- οῦδες
nouns
fem. nom./acc./voc. pl., [άλουπούδες] 571
masc. nom./acc./voc. pl., [παππούδες] 424, [κυροῦδες] 457
- οῦμαν
verbs
1 pl. imperf. act., [εβαροῦμαν] 1571
- οῦμασαν/-οῦμασθαν
verbs
1 pl. imperf. pass., [εγραφοῦμασαν] 1545, [εγρικούμασαν] 1593
- οῦμαστε/-οῦμασθε
verbs
1 pl. imperf. pass., [εγραφοῦμασθε] 1545, [εβαροῦμασθε] 1593
1 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γραφοῦμασθε] 1446, [βαροῦμασθε] 1478
- οῦμαστον
verbs
1 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γραφοῦμαστον] 1446
- οῦμε
verbs
1 pl. aor. subj. act., [γράψουμε] 1498, [ελθουμε] 1515
1 pl. pres. ind./subj. act., [γράφουμε] 1435
- οῦμεθεν
verbs
1 pl. imperf. pass., [εβαροῦμεθεν] 1593
1 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γραφοῦμεθεν] 1446, [βαροῦμεθεν] 1478
- οῦμεστα/-οῦμεσθα
verbs
1 pl. imperf. pass., [εγραφοῦμεστα] 1545, [εβαροῦμεστα] 1593
1 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γραφοῦμεστα] 1446, [βαροῦμεστα] 1478/8
- οῦμεστε/-οῦμεσθε
verbs
1 pl. imperf. pass., [εγραφοῦμεσθε] 1544, [εβαροῦμεσθε] 1593
1 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γραφοῦμεσθε] 1446, [βαροῦμεσθε] 1478
- οῦμην/-οῦμην
verbs
1 sg. imperf. pass., [εγράφουμην] 1543
- οῦμουν
verbs
1 sg. aor. ind. middle, [εγένουμουν] 1763
1 sg. imperf. pass., [εγράφουμουν] 1543, [εβαροῦμουν] 1592

- οῦμουν
verbs
1 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφοῦμουν] 1543,
[ἐβαροῦμουν] 1592
- οὐν
verbs
3 pl. aor. subj. act., [γράφουν] 1498, [ἐλθουν]
1515
3 pl. pres. ind./subj. act., [γράφουν] 1435
- οῦν
verbs
3 pl. aor. subj. pass., [γραφοῦν] 1508
3 pl. pres. ind./subj. act., [βαροῦν] 1461
- οῦνα
verbs
1 sg. imperf. act., [ἐβάρουνα] 1571
- οῦνε
verbs
2 sg. pres. imp. act., [βάρουνε] 1653
- οῦνμου
verbs
1 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφουνμου] 1543,
[ἐβάρουνμου] 1592
- οῦνσου
verbs
2 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφουνσου] 1544
- οῦνται-οῦντα
gerund. *See* -ντα
- οῦνται
verbs
3 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γράφονται]
1446
- οῦνταν
verbs
3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφουνταν] 1544
3 pl. aor. ind. middle, [ἐγένουνταν] 1763
3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφουνταν] 1546
- οῦνταν
verbs
3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρῶνταν] 1592
3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρῶνταν] 1593
- οῦντας-οῦντας
gerund. *See* -ντας
- οῦντασι
verbs
3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφοῦντασι] 1546,
[ἐβαροῦντασι] 1593
- οῦντησαν
verbs
3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρῶντησαν]
1593
- οῦντο
verbs
3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφουντο] 1544
3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφουντο] 1546
- οῦντο
verbs
3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρῶντο] 1592
- οῦς
nouns
fem. gen. sg., [Πάφους] 272, [Μύκονους] 285
masc. nom. sg., [πάππους] 423
- οῦς
nouns
fem./masc. gen. sg., [ὁδοῦς, Νεκτεναβοῦς] 262
fem. gen. sg., [νυχτοῦς] 474
masc. gen. sg., [μηνοῦς] 316
masc. nom. sg., [παπποῦς] 423
- οῦσα
verbs
1 sg. imperf. act., [ἐβαροῦσα] 1571
- οῦσασθε
verbs
2 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαροῦσασθε] 1593
- οῦσασι
verbs
3 pl. imperf. act., [ἐβαροῦσασι] 1571
- οῦσετε
verbs
2 pl. imperf. act., [ἐβαροῦσετε] 1571
- οῦσθε
verbs. *See* -οῦστε
- οῦσουν
verbs
2 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφουσουν] 1544,
[ἐγρικουσουν] 1592
2 sg. pres. imp. pass., [γράφουσουν] 1651
- οῦσουν
verbs
2 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφοῦσουν] 1544,
[ἐβαροῦσουν] 1592
2 sg. pres. imp. pass., [βαροῦσουν] 1657
- οῦσταν-οῦσθαν
verbs
2 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφουσταν] 1545
- οῦστε-οῦσθε
verbs
2 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφοῦστε] 1545,
[ἐγρικοῦστε] 1593
2 pl. pres. imp. pass., [γραφοῦστε] 1651,
[βαροῦστε] 1657
2 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γραφοῦστε] 1446,
[βαροῦστε] 1478
- οῦτον
verbs
3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαροῦτον] 1592
- οῦτουν
verbs
3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφουτουν]
1544

- σου
verbs
2 sg. aor. imp. pass., [στάσου] 1664
- ύ
adjectives
masc./neut. gen. sg., [βαθύ] 746
- ύς
adjectives
masc. nom. sg., [πικρύς] 745
- ω
nouns
fem. nom/acc/voc. sg., [Μάρω] 576
- ῶ
verbs
1 sg. aor. subj. act., [ἐλθῶ] 1515
- ῶντα
gerund. *See* -ντα
- ῶνταν
verbs. *See* -όνταν
- ώντας
verbs
gerund. *See* -ντας
- ώντασι
verbs. *See* -όντασι
- ώντες
gerund. *See* -ντες
- ῶντον
verbs
3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγρικῶντον] 1592
- ῶσιν/-οσιν
verbs
3 pl. pres. ind. act., [γράφωσιν] 1435
- ῶσουν
verbs. *See* -όσουν
- ϕ
nouns
masc. gen/acc. sg., [Ἀγάπ'] 388
- verbs
3 sg. aor. ind. pass., [ἐγράφθ'] 1629